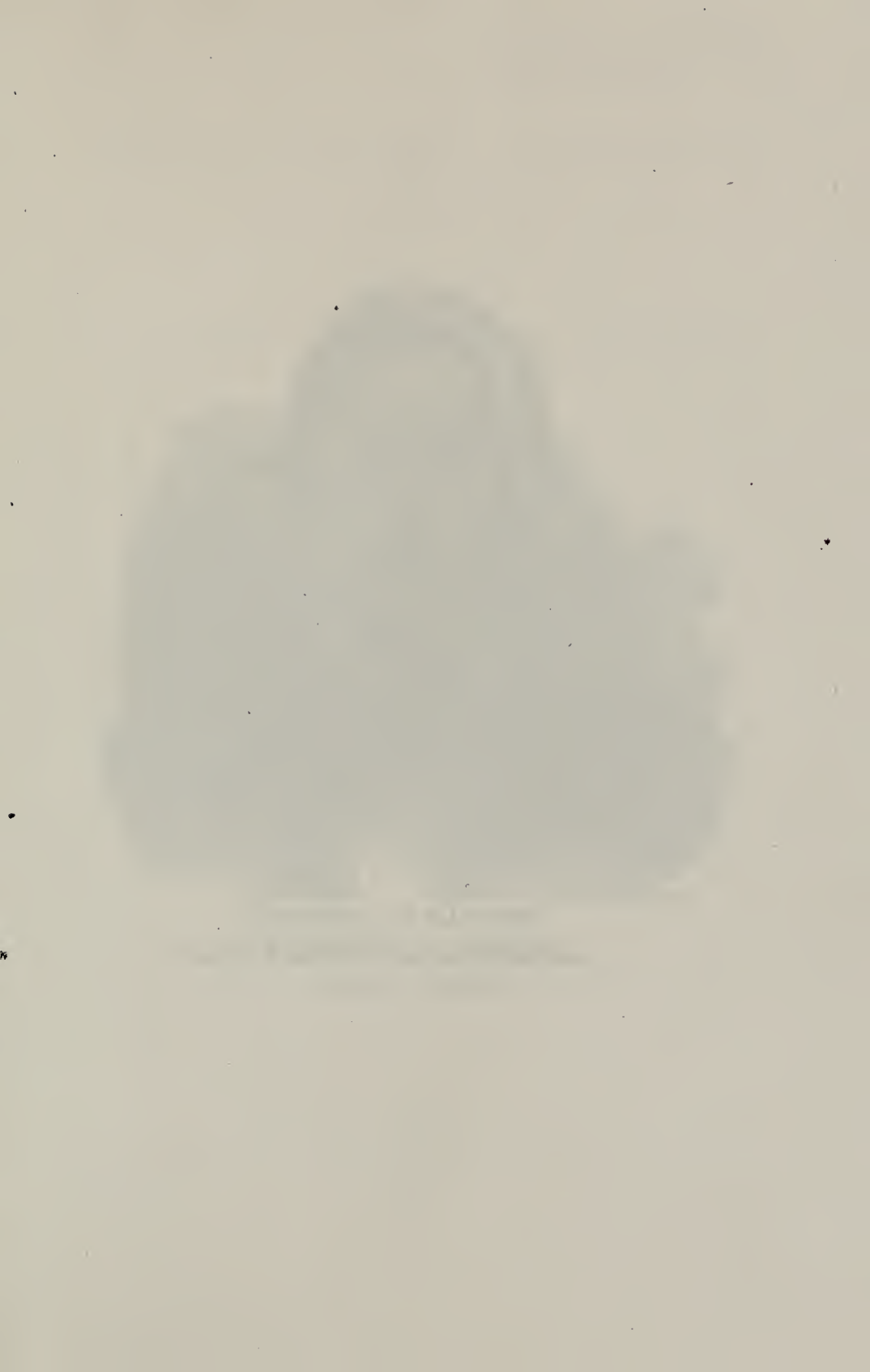


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EBENEZER W. PEIRCE.

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INDIAN HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY AND GENEALOGY:

PERTAINING TO THE

GOOD SACHEM MASSASOIT

OF THE

WAMPANOAG TRIBE,

AND HIS DESCENDANTS.

With an Appendix.

By EBENEZER W. PEIRCE,
OF FREETOWN, MASS.

Author of "Brief Sketches of Towns in Bristol and Plymouth Counties," and other historical works; Resident Member of the Old Colony Historical, the Pilgrim, and the New England Historic Genealogical Societies; Corresponding Member of the New York Biographical and Wisconsin State Historical Societies.

*"That king hath gone to his lowly grave;
He slumbers in dark decay;
And like the crest of the tossing wave,
Like the rush of the blast from the mountain cave,
Like the groan of the murdered with none to save,
His people have passed away."*

NORTH ABINGTON, MASS.:

PUBLISHED BY ZERVIAH GOULD MITCHELL.

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P R E F A C E .

My object in bringing this work before the public is not only to show that I am a lineal descendant, in the seventh generation, from the great and good Massasoit, whom both the red and white man now venerate and honor, but also to make record of the wrongs which during all these generations have been endured by my race. When the pale face first came to these shores, homeless and helpless outcasts, in the cold month of December, Massasoit was king and ruler over a large part of Massachusetts, with Rhode Island and part of Connecticut. When their scanty provisions were gone, and they were left in a state of starvation, had they not received timely aid from the noble red man they would have perished then and there. But what has been the reward to Massasoit and his descendants, from the time of the landing of the Puritans down to the present hour? Nothing but deception and neglect. For the past twenty-five years I have been seeking redress for the wrongs done to me and mine, by petitioning the Massachusetts Legislature to remove the State's guardianship from my

lands, and to pay me for the wood cut therefrom by their agent Benjamin F. Winslow of Fall River. In response to my first petition, Gov. Gardner had a committee appointed to hear my case. Mr. Winslow made a report to this committee that \$1500 worth of wood had been cut in one winter from the Squim lots; and when asked why he had not put this money in the bank for the benefit of the heirs, replied that he did not know there were any heirs. It seemed as though, when it was thought by him that all the Indians were dead, one was dug right up out of the grave. The State has never paid me for the wood their agent acknowledged to have cut. The reason why I speak of this, is that many of my friends thought that I had been paid long and long ago. They could not believe that the Legislature would be so unjust as not to have paid me that which was rightfully due for wood taken and sold by their agents.

This land is called the Squim lots, because Tuspaquim the second, re-named by the English Benjamin Squinamay, having fought for them in one of their wars, received this tract in compensation for his services, and he recorded it for his grandchildren. This record was in the hands of B. F. Winslow at the time of his agency, and was shown to me after my telling him who I was.

I have come to the conclusion that Massachusetts does not intend to do me justice through its Legislature. There seems to be no law for the Indian. Before going to my grave I have thought it proper to be heard in behalf of

my oppressed countrymen; and I now, through the medium of the printing press, and in book form, speak to the understanding and sense of justice of the reading public. I do not desire to awaken any zeal that is not according to knowledge, and all the facts that are herein presented relating to my ancestry and myself are undeniably true.

The undersigned is authorized to say that the writer of this book deems himself happy in being her assistant in the work. He feels, and has long felt, that the whole white race on this continent are vastly indebted to the aborigines of the country—those who once owned and occupied the fair lands of this western hemisphere—and he most cheerfully joins in doing what little he can to cancel that indebtedness.

ZERVIAH G. MITCHELL.

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INDIAN HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY AND GENEALOGY.

I.

EARLY INDIAN HISTORY.

IT is not with a view to add to the number of facts already known concerning the aborigines of that portion of New England first settled by Europeans, that we present this account of the great and good old Massasoit and his lineal descendants for a period of about two hundred and fifty-seven years. It is not that we pretend to have recovered or re-discovered facts, for a time lost, in Indian history ; for all we herein present, if never before in print, has, in manuscript or in carefully kept traditions, been known to, and in the keeping of, somebody. This history has been compiled in order that what has been written, as well as what has before found its way into type, together with many facts concerning the Indians never before written and never printed, but from generation to generation, from century to century, verbally transmitted from parent to child, may now for the first time be brought together, printed and published, and thus be made more available to students of our country's history, more easy of

access to everybody, as well as more secure from the possibility of loss. The evidences drawn from manuscripts, printed documents and Indian tradition, thus collected and presented in unity, add strength to our statements, and liken the thread of our discourse to a three-fold cord which is not easily broken—to three witnesses by which every word shall be established.

At the date when the landing of the Pilgrims took place at Plymouth, now two hundred and fifty-seven years ago, Massasoit was one of the mightiest of North American chieftains, his domain covering a very extensive territory, and, until visited by the plague that ravaged the country in or about 1617, occupied by a very numerous people.

Devastating was that terrible plague, annihilating whole families, and making households desolate; but to those who remained were spared their hearth-stones, their birth-places, their land and the inheritance of their fathers. Yes; the hunting grounds filled with game, the brooks, rivers, lakes and streams stocked with fish, their planting fields, and spots containing the graves of their ancestors, were left to them an untouched, uninjured and undisturbed possession. So terrible were the ravages of this pestilence, that wasted not only by night but also at noon-day, that the well were too few to care for the sick, and the living not sufficient to bury the dead, whose bones for several years unburied bleached in the sun, and were washed by the storms, till whitening the localities of their former habitations. Cruel as was the blow, still some mercy was mingled with the awful stroke. It was almost, but not quite, annihilation; a seed of the great people was spared. It was to the Indians like the outpouring of the vials of Almighty wrath; but an exhibition of wrath in which was also remembered mercy.

The one great tribe, or union of tribes, over which Massasoit ruled as one people, was, at the arrival of the Pilgrims, recovering from the effects of the pestilence, and though slowly yet certainly re-peopling the land. Probably the plague had ravaged more upon the sea coast than among inland settlements, and this, together with the inclement season of the year when the Pilgrims landed, doubtless accounts for the fact that they had been on shore four days before seeing any Indians. That first sight was described by an early English writer, as follows: "They espied five or sixe people with a Dogge coming towards them who were savages; who when they saw them ran into the Woods and whistled the Dogge after them." This writer further informs us that the English pursued the Indians, which being perceived by the latter, "they ran away might and main, so that the English could not come near them."

Their next sight at the Indians was on the morning of Dec. 8, 1620, and was described as follows:*

"Wee went ranging vp and downe till the Sunne began to draw low, and then we hasted out of the woods that we might come to our shallop. . . . By that time we had done & our Shallop come to us, it was within night and we betooke vs to our rest. . . . About midnight we heard a great and hideous cry, and our Sentinell called out *Arme, Arme*. So we bestirred ourselues and shot off a couple of Muskets and noyse ceased; we concluded that it was a company of Wolues or Foxes for one told vs hee had heard such a noyse in New-found-land. About five a clocke in the morning wee began to be stirring. . . . Vpon a sudden we heard a great and strange cry which we knew to be the same voyces though they varied

* This was Dec. 8th, old style, that varies 11 days from the present mode of computing time. It would now be considered Dec. 19, 1620.

their notes, one of our company being abroad came running in and cryed, *They are men, Indians, Indians*; and withall their arrowes came flying amongst vs, our men ran out with all speed to recover their armes. . . . The cry of our enemies was dreadfull, especially when our men ran out to recover their Armes, their note was after this manner, *Woath woach ha ha hach woach*: our men were no sooner come to their Armes but the enemy was ready to assault them.

"There was a lustie man and no whit lesse valiant, who was thought to bee their Captaine, stood behind a tree within halfe a musket shot of vs, and there let his arrowes fly at vs. . . . Hee stood three shots of a musket. At length one tooke as he said full ayme at him he gave an extreordinary cry, and away they went all."

This writer also says that after the Indians retreated the English picked up eighteen arrows, some of which were curiously "headed with brasse, some with Hart's horne and others with Eagle's clawes."*

These accounts of the first discovery and first encounter with the Indians were doubtless penned by Richard Gardiner, who sent his manuscript to England, where it was published by Mr. G. Mourt under the title of "Mourt's Relation or Journal of a Plantation settled at Plymouth in N. E."

This attack upon the English was made by the Nauset Indians, and doubtless was led by their chief whose name was Aspinet, one of the numerous sub-chiefs who acknowledged allegiance to Massasoit. (See Appendix, No. I.) The place where the affair happened was called by the Indians Namskeket, but by the English "*The First Encounter*."

* Heading arrows with brass showed that these Indians had been engaged in traffic with Europeans who not unfrequently visited this coast before the coming of the Pilgrims.

It was into the hands of the Nauset Indians that the boy John Billington fell, when lost in the woods about six months after the event just cited, and concerning the recovery of whom an early historian relates that the Indian chief "Aspinet came with a great train and brought the boy with him," and that one Indian, when coming to water, took up the boy and carried him. They were met by the English near the place of that first encounter,* and that early historian also informs us that Aspinet had "not less than an hundred," half of whom attended the boy to the Englishmen's boat, while the rest stood aloof with their bows and arrows, looking on. Aspinet delivered the lost boy to his English friends in a formal manner and "behung with beads." To the chieftain Aspinet for his kindness the English made the present of a knife, and also gave a knife to the Indian that found the lost boy and kindly entertained him till delivered to his friends.

Three days after the first encounter at Namskeket, viz., Dec. 11, 1620 (old style), the English landing took place at Patuxet, also within the dominions of Massasoit. To Patuxet the English gave the name of Plymouth. Some three months passed after the landing at Patuxet, now Plymouth, before the discovery of any more Indians, when suddenly and unexpectedly an Indian named Samoset appeared, and, to use the language of "Mourt's Relation" concerning that Indian, "He very boldly came all alone and along the houses strait to the rendezvous where we intercepted him, not suffering him to go in as undoubtedly he would out of his boldness."

That historian continued that the Indian was naked, "only a leather around his waist about a span long. . . . We cast a horseman's coat about him. He

* The place of that first encounter was in what became the town of Eastham, in Barnstable County, Mass.

had learned some broken English amongst the Englishmen that come to fish at Monhiggon,* and knew by name most of the captains, commanders and masters that usually come [there]. He was a man free in speech so far as he could express his mind, and of seemly carriage. We questioned him of many things: he was the first savage we could meet withal. He said he was not of these parts, but of Moratiggon and one of the sagamores or lords thereof: had been 8 months in these parts it lying hence a day's sail with a great wind and five days' [journey] by land. He discoursed of the whole country and of every province, and of their sagamores and their numbers and strength. He had a bow and two arrows, the one headed the other unheaded. He was a tall strait man; the hair on his head black, long behind only short before; none on his face at all. He asked some beer, but we gave him strong water, and biscuit and butter and cheese and piece of a mallard; all which he liked well. He told us the place we now live in is called Patuxet, and that about 4 years ago all the inhabitants died of an extraordinary plague and there is neither man, woman nor child remaining, as indeed we have found none. All the afternoon we spent in communication with him. We lodged him that night at Stephen Hopkins house and watched him."

It was this Indian, Samoset, who on entering the English settlement at Patuxet, otherwise Plymouth, repeated those memorable words, "Welcome, Englishmen! Welcome, Englishmen!"

Concerning the extent of territory over which Massasoit held sway, and the tribes that acknowledged him as their sovereign, it has been satisfactorily determined that all Cape Cod (now the county of Barnstable), and

* Monhiggon is within the present limit of the State of Maine.

all that portion of Massachusetts and Rhode Island lying between Narraganset and Massachusetts Bays, and perhaps extending westerly into what is now the State of Connecticut, together with all the contiguous islands, were included in the lordly domain of the great and good old Massasoit.

That Massasoit should be able to hold so many tribes together without constant war, required qualities belonging only to few; and as we contemplate the fact, are forcibly impressed with the truth of the language of one of Massasoit's war captains, the friendly Indian Hobamok, who on learning of the dangerous illness of Massasoit, in bitterness of spirit exclaimed and kept repeating, "Neen womasu Sagimus, neen womasu Sagimus," which by interpretation is, "My loving Sachem! many have I known, but never any like thee," and then addressing himself to some of the English, Hobamok said, "While you live you will never see his like among the Indians"; adding, that he was no liar, nor bloody and cruel; in anger and passion he was soon reclaimed, easy to be reconciled toward such as had offended him; that his reason was such as to cause him to receive advice of mean people [those in low or medium circumstances], and that he governed his people better with few blows than others did with many.

Such was the character of the ruler of the wild country and savage land to which the Pilgrim voyagers from far over the sea had come to locate and lay the foundations of another government—to plant the seeds of a new empire.

On Saturday, the 17th of March, 1621, Samoset left Plymouth people, promising soon to return and to "bring some of Massasoit's men to trade with them in skins." Accordingly, the next day, Sunday, March 18, 1621, Samoset returned and accompanied by "five

other proper men. They had every man a deer skin on him, and the principal of them had a wild cat's skin or such like on one arm. They had most of them long hosen up to their groins close made; and above their groins to their waist another leather, they were altogether like Irish trousers. They were of complexion like English gipsies; no hair or very little on their faces; on their heads long hair to their shoulders, only cut before; some trussed up before with a feather broadwise like a fan; another a fox tail hanging out. We gave them entertainment as we thought was fitting them. They did eat liberally of our English victuals, sang and danced after their manner like anticks. Some of them had their faces painted black from the forehead to the chin four or five fingers broad, others after other fashions as they liked. They brought three or four skins but we would not truck with them that day, but wished them to bring more and we would truck for all."

The reason why the Pilgrims would not trade with the Indians that day was that it was their Sabbath or Sunday. The old chronicler continued, "So because of the day we dismissed them so soon as we could. But Samoset our first acquaintance either was sick, or feigned himself so, and would not go with them, and stayed with us till Wednesday morning. Then we sent him to them to know the reason they came not, and we gave him a hat, a pair of stockings and shoes, a shirt and a piece of cloth to tie about his waist." Samoset did not come back until the next day, viz., Thursday, March 22, 1621, when he returned bringing with him an Indian called Squanto.

Squanto, like many other Indians, seems to have had several names. Thus at different periods of time he appears to have been called Tasquantum, Tisquantum and Squantum, as also Squanto; and,

singularly enough, he had been in the Englishman's country, where for a time he dwelt with a merchant named John Slaine. This Indian, with four others, was taken by Capt. George Weymouth in 1605, and carried to England where he had remained for several years. Capt. Weymouth had been sent out to discover the north-west passage. Squanto claimed to have been the only native of Patuxet (now Plymouth) that the plague of 1617 had spared, and his escape, perhaps, was owing to the fact that he at that time had not yet returned from his voyage to Europe. Samoset and Squanto brought but few articles of trade, but very important news, viz., "that their great sagamore Massasoit was hard by."

Massasoit's residence at that time was at Pawkunawkut, now in the township of Bristol, Rhode Island. His name was pronounced and written in various ways, thus, Woosamequin, Asuhmequin, Oosamequen, Osamekin, Owsamequin, Osamequine, Ussamequen, and Wasamegin; but most generally is he mentioned in history under the name of Massasoit. Governor Bradford, the chief magistrate of Plymouth Colony, to whom the world owes very much of what now appears concerning the early history of that colony, usually wrote the name of the Indian chieftain, Massasoyt or Massasoyet. The early English settlers at Plymouth and their immediate descendants pronounced the name Ma-sas-so-it.

We have remarked that Samoset and Squanto brought but few articles of trade, but among these were skins, and "some red herrings newly taken and dried but not salted." Tradition informs us that when the country was first settled by the English, the herring so largely abounded that in its passage from the sea to the still waters of the lakes and ponds, the little intervening streams were fairly choked, and at such

points the Indians annually caught large quantities, taking the fish from the water in their hands without the aid of nets or weirs. The Indians used no salt, and hence the fish not devoted to present use were dried; and besides, no inconsiderable quantities were used with which to enrich their planting grounds, applying as they did one herring to each hill of growing corn. With such a stimulant, though the Indians planted the poorest and most sandy lands because easier worked with their rude tools of husbandry, yet they managed to get very fair crops of Indian corn, beans and pumpkins.

Before the arrival of the English, the Indian's hoe was made from the largest shells of the common clam, or the shell of the "round clam" or quauhaug. Bent bones served the natives for fish-hooks; but clam-shells in husbandry, and bent bones in fishery, were discarded as soon as skins would purchase good English hoes and fish-hooks.

It is stated in Mourt's Relation that at this, the first visit Massasoit made the English, March 22, 1621, that chieftain was accompanied by Quadequina, his brother. The old chronicler continues to state that the Indians "could not well express in English what they would, but after an hour the King came to the top of an hill over against us and had in his train 60 men that we could well behold them and they us." That hill whereon Massasoit and his warriors first appeared is thought to be what is now called "Watson's." It is on the south side of town brook, in Plymouth.

The writer continues—"We were not willing to send our governor* to them, and they unwilling to come to us; so Squanto went again unto him who

* At that time John Carver was governor of the Plymouth settlers. He died in April, 1621, and in his office as governor was succeeded by William Bradford.



TREATY WITH MASSASOIT.

(Engraved from a drawing made by PALO ALTO PEIRCE, of Freetown.)

brought word that we should send one to parley with him which we did, which was Edward Winslow ; to know his mind and to signify the mind and will of our governor which was to have trading and peace with him. We sent to the King a pair of knives and a copper chain with a jewel in it. To Quadequina we sent likewise a knife, and a jewel to hang in his ear and withal a pot of strong water, a good quantity of biscuit and some butter, which were all willingly accepted."

Then the Englishman addressed Massasoit in a speech wherein he repeated the unmitigated falsehood and stereotyped lie of the English king's love and good will to him and his people, and told Massasoit that the English king accepted him as his friend ; and the Pilgrim amanuensis adds that Massasoit "liked well of the speech and heard it attentively though the interpreters did not well express it.* After he had eaten and drunk himself and given to the rest of his company, he looked upon our messenger's sword and armor which he had on, with intimation of his desire to buy it ; but on the other side our messenger showed his unwillingness to part with it. In the end he left him in the custody of Quadequina his brother and came over the brook and some 20 men following him. We kept six or seven as hostages for our interpreter."

As Massasoit proceeded to meet the English, they met him with six soldiers who saluted each other. Several of Massasoit's men were with him, but these all left their bows and arrows behind. They were conducted to a new house which was partly finished, and a green rug was spread upon the floor and several cushions for Massasoit and his chiefs to sit down upon. Then came the English governor, followed by a drum-

* Perhaps the chief would have been less pleased with the speech had the interpreters enabled him to understand it better.

mer and trumpeter and a few soldiers, and after kissing one another, all sat down. Some strong water* being brought, the governor drank to Massasoit who in turn "drank a great draught that made him sweat all the while after." The Pilgrims seemed to be desirous that Massasoit should be moved upon by the spirit, even though his acts should not be characterized by a correct understanding.

They next proceeded to make a treaty, which stipulated that neither Massasoit nor any of his people should do hurt to the English, and if they did they should be given up to be punished by them; and that if the English did any harm to him or any of his people, they (the English) would do the like to them. That if any did unjustly war against Massasoit, the English were to aid him, and he was to do the same in his turn. The old writer adds—"all which the King seemed to like well and it was applauded of his followers."

Massasoit is described as "a very lusty man, in his best years an able body, grave of countenance, and spare of speech; in his attire little or nothing differing from the rest of his followers, only a great chain of white bone beads about his neck; and at it behind his neck hangs a little bag of tobacco which he drank and gave us to drink." Drinking tobacco was the common English phrase at that time, made use of to express what we now call smoking tobacco.

The early historian, in further describing Massasoit, says—"His face was painted with a sad red like murrey and oiled both head and face that he looked greasily. All his followers likewise were in their faces in part or in whole painted, some black, some red, some yellow, and some white; some with crosses and other antic works; some had skins on and some naked; all strong

* The Indians seem from the first to have loved strong drink which they called "fire water."

tall men in appearance. The king had in his bosom, hanging in a string, a great long knife. He marvelled much at our trumpet and some of his men would sound it as well as they could. Samoset and Squanto stayed all night with us."

Massasoit retired, and with his people encamped that night in the forest about half a mile from Plymouth. Despite the treaty, the English were uneasy, and "that night kept good watch, but there was no appearance of danger. The next morning divers of their people came over to us. Some of them told us the King would have some of us come to see him. Captain Standish and Isaac Alderton went venturously, who were welcomed of him after their manner. He gave them three or four ground nuts and some tobacco."

One morning the Indians stayed in Plymouth until 10 or 11 of the clock, and the governor directed them to send him their King's kettle, which being done, the governor caused the kettle to be filled with peas, "which pleased them well; and so they went their way."

Thus concluded the first visit of Massasoit to the Pilgrims. Samoset and Squanto remained at Plymouth, imparting to the Pilgrims the useful lesson of how to accommodate their lives and actions to the country they had sought for a new home, the climate and natural productions of which differed so essentially from those of their own native land. Squanto went for eels, which he took in true Indian fashion, treading the eels out of the mud with his feet and catching them in his hands. At night he came bringing as many eels as he could lift with one hand. The Pilgrims appear to have indulged in no qualms about eating eels, for their historian gravely wrote, "which our people were glad of. . . They were fat and sweet."

In June or July, Edward Winslow and Stephen

Hopkins, with Squanto as their interpreter, made Massasoit a visit. They desired to find his place of residence in case that they should be obliged to call upon him for assistance, and to continue the friendly correspondence commenced at Plymouth. They carried as a present a trooper's red coat with some lace trimming upon it, and a copper chain, and with these Massasoit expressed himself as highly pleased. The Englishmen desired Massasoit, when he sent any of his people to them to send also this copper chain, and then the English would not be imposed upon by any who might wish to practise deception.

On the arrival of the Englishmen at Pawkunnawkut, they found Massasoit absent; but he was immediately sent for, and on being informed of his coming the English began to prepare to receive him with the military salute of discharging their fire-arms. This so frightened the women and children that they fled in terror, and would not return until assured by the interpreter that they need not fear as no harm was intended or would be done to them. The salutation of firing their muskets pleased Massasoit, and he kindly welcomed his guests, put on the red coat and placed the copper chain about his neck, seeming not a little proud to behold himself thus attired, as did also his people. Many of Massasoit's men being brought together to see the English, he made a speech to them, in which he said, "Am I not Massasoit, commander of the country about us? Is not [such and such a place] mine and the people of them? They shall bring their skins to the English."

In that speech, says the old chronicler, Massasoit "named at least thirty places" over which he had control; and continues, "this being ended he lighted tobacco for us and fell to discoursing of England and the King's majesty, marvelling that he should live without a wife."

So short were the Indians at that time for food that Massasoit and his guests were forced to go supperless to bed, and that bed consisted of planks laid a foot from the ground, and a thin mat thrown over the planks. The Pilgrim recorder also wrote that Massasoit laid his English visitors "on the bed with himself and his wife, they at one end and the [Englishmen] at the other, and two more of [Massasoit's] men for want of room pressed by and upon [them] so that they were worse weary of the lodging than of the journey. The next day many sachems and petty governors came, and many of their men also. They went to their manner of games for skins and knives." It was not until about one o'clock the next day that Massasoit was able to offer two large boiled fishes, and the English writer says that on these two fishes depended the miracle of feeding that multitude, as "there were at least forty looking for a share in them."

He continues, "On Friday morning before sunrising we took our leave and departed, Massasoit being both grieved and ashamed that he could no better entertain us. And retaining Tisquantum to send from place to place to procure truck for us. Very importunate he was to have us stay with them longer."

And so ended the first visit of the Plymotheans to Massasoit; and such were the recorded details of that visit penned by one of those visitors, or some one who "interviewed" them immediately after their return. The account was then transmitted to an English publisher to astonish, amuse and enlighten the reading public through the medium of English types and the English printing press.

In this account I have endeavored not only to convey just the ideas expressed by the early Plymouth writer, but when I could do so without too much prolixity, to repeat precisely that writer's words.

Though this was the first visit that Massasoit received from the Pilgrims settled at Patuxet, now Plymouth, it was not the earliest visit to him made by white people, for in the month of May, 1619, Capt. Thomas Dermer came in a vessel to Patuxet, when he too received the kind offices of the Indian Squanto, whom Dermer characterized as his savage. In a letter written by Capt. Dermer, under date of Dec. 27, 1619, he thus described the event:—"When I arrived at my savage's native country I travelled along a day's Journey to a place called Nammastaquet, where finding inhabitants I dispatched a messenger a day's Journey farther west to Pocanokit which bordereth on the sea; whence came to see me two Kings attended with a guard of 50 armed men, who being well satisfied with that my savage and I discoursed unto them, gave me content in whatever I demanded; where I found that former relations were true. Here I redeemed a Frenchman, and afterwards another at Masstachusit, who three years since escaped shipwreck at the north-east of Cape Cod."

The two kings mentioned by Capt. Dermer in this letter were probably Massasoit and his brother Quadequina, and in what is now Middleborough was the place where Massasoit met Dermer and Squanto his interpreter.*

Capt. Dermer in another letter said the Indians would have killed him at Namasket had not Squanto entreated hard for him; and he added, "their desire for revenge was occasioned by an Englishman, who having many of them on board made great slaughter of them when they offered no injury on their parts." That Englishman was exemplifying his christian civilization,

* The writer of this book believes it possible, even now, to locate the spot where that conference between Capt. Dermer and the two Indian kings transpired.

and this, as compared with the pagan kindness and forbearance exhibited when the Indians had Dermer in their power, shows how little the savage might gain by embracing the white man's religion and adopting the white man's manners. Was the forbearance of the Indians when they thus suffered long and were still kind, evidence of pagan or christian virtue?

By the improvidence of a company settled at Wes-saguscus under the direction of Mr. Thomas Weston, in 1622, they had been brought to the very brink of starvation in the winter of that year. (See Appendix, No. 2.) In fact the Plymouth people were but very little better off; and but for the kindness of the Indians the worst of consequences might have ensued. As the winter progressed, the two colonies entered into articles of agreement to go on a trading expedition among the Cape Cod Indians, where and of whom they sought to purchase corn, and Squanto was employed to act as pilot.

Mr. Winslow, an early writer, said, "But here [a place then called Manamoyk, now Chatham], though they had determined to make a second essay, yet God had otherwise disposed, who struck Tisquantum with sickness, insomuch that he there died, which crossed their southward trading, and the more because the master's sufficiency was much doubted, and the season very tempestuous and not fit to go upon discovery, having no guide to direct them."

Prince, the annalist, said that the disorder of which Squanto died was a fever, attended with "bleeding much at the nose, which the Indians reckon a fatal symptom." Squanto desired the governor would pray for him, that he might go to the Englishman's God. He also bequeathed "his things to sundry of his English friends as remembrances of his love."

By the English the death of Squanto was accounted

a great loss. He died in December, 1622, or about two years after the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth. But he had not only been of great service to the Plymotheans, but through folly and short-sightedness came near leading them into serious, nay fatal, difficulty. The expedition, however, that came so near failing from the death of the pilot, was not abandoned, for Squanto, just before his death, succeeded in introducing his English friends to the sachem of Manamoick and his people, by whom the English were received and generously entertained.

The Indians of Manamoick, after refreshing their English visitors "with store of venison and other victuals which they brought them in great abundance," sold them "8 hogsheads of corn and beans." (See Appendix, No. 3.) So pleased were the English with the success attending this voyage, that they went again to Cape Cod and to the Indians at Nauset, "where the sachem Aspinet used the governor very kindly and where they bought 8 or 10 hogsheads of corn and beans; also at a place called Mattachiest, where they had like entertainment and corn also." (Appendix, No. 4.) While here a violent storm arose and drove on shore the Englishmen's pinnace, and so damaged it that they were not able to get the corn on board their ship, and so stacked it, and securing it from the weather with a covering of mats and dry grass or sedge. Aspinet was desired to watch and keep the wild animals from destroying the corn until the English could come for it, and also to suffer no injury done to their boat, all of which he faithfully did. The governor returned home by land, "receiving great kindness from the Indians by the way."*

* So it seems that savages in heathen darkness, entirely destitute of the light of the gospel, could be kind, yea, generous; and the confidence reposed in them, by thus leaving the boat and corn under their keeping, shows that the Pilgrims expected they would prove true. Kind, generous and true, without the aid of christian missionaries!

We have already shown that the Indian Squanto performed very essential service for some of the early European comers to New England, as also to the first English settlers at Patuxet, now Plymouth, and have incidentally alluded to the fact that through folly and short-sightedness, he gave the Plymotheans very serious trouble that might reasonably have been expected to result in most disastrous and fatal consequences. Hobbamock was a great Indian paniese or leader on the war path, one of the numerous sub-chiefs of the great head chief Massasoit. About the end of July, 1621, he went to Plymouth, where he was so much pleased with the white people, and they in turn were so delighted with him, that a mutual friendship sprung up that continued as long as he lived. So strong was the bond of friendship by which they became united, that Hobbamock took up his abode at Plymouth, and there continued to reside during the rest of his life, and was doubtless the principal means of the lasting friendship of Massasoit. An early writer, in describing Hobbamock, said "that he was a proper lusty young man and one that was in account among the Indians in these parts for his valor." He was of the greatest service to the English settlers at Plymouth in teaching them how to cultivate the fruits peculiar to the country, such as corn and beans.

One day an Indian messenger came running into the Plymouth settlement, apparently in great fright, out of breath, and bleeding from a wound in his face. The messenger said that the Indian chief Caunbitant (an enemy to the English), with many of the Narragansets, and he believed Massasoit with them, were coming to destroy the English. Of the messenger's sincerity no one doubted. A cannon was fired and the colonist forces promptly mustered. Hobbamock and Captain Standish were at the time in a boat off the

Gurnet's nose, and hearing the report of the cannon hastened to Plymouth, and had no sooner come on shore than Hobbamock assured the people that it was a false alarm and the report groundless, as indeed it proved to be. Hobbamock also said it was a plot of Squanto, who in turn denied all knowledge of or participation in the affair. The English, however, were well satisfied that Squanto had laid this shallow plot to set them against Massasoit, thinking that the English would thus be led to destroy him and make Squanto chief in his stead. To make assurance doubly sure, Hobbamock sent his wife privately to Pawkunnawkut to gain exact intelligence, and on her return her testimony only served to verify what her husband had previously said. "Thus by degrees," wrote Mr. Winslow, "we began to discover Tisquantum, whose ends were only to make himself great in the eyes of his countrymen by means of his nearness and favor with us; not caring who fell so he stood. . . . In general his course was to persuade them he could lead us to peace or war at his pleasure, and would oft threaten the Indians, sending them word in a private manner, we intended shortly to kill them, that thereby he might get gifts to himself to work their peace, insomuch as they had him in greater esteem than many of their sachems. For these and like abuses the governor sharply reprimanded Squanto." Word was also sent to the Indians that the Plymouth settlers were ignorant till then of these acts of Squanto, and assuring them till they began a war they had no cause to fear, and if any should hereafter raise such false reports the Indians should be permitted to punish them as liars and seekers of the disturbance of both the Indians and English.

Massasoit, however, according to the terms of the treaty existing between the English and the Indians, demanded Squanto that he might put him to death;

and there can be no doubt that the English violated that solemn treaty, both in its spirit and letter, by the various subterfuges they sought as excuse for their falsity and bad faith in refusing to give him up. But the English regarded the benefit to them resulting from saving Squanto's life more than keeping inviolate the treaty with Massasoit, and thus was Squanto permitted to escape. And yet these, we are told, were the "holy men of old," who were too pious to remain in their own country, so much did they fear moral contamination. Although they came here to set up a purer worship of God, and to live their holy religion, yet this was an example of their practice. To get out from among unbelievers (as unbelief was a more heinous sin than the most detestable practice), to be rid of sinful examples and the company of sinners, they came to this wild land so far over the sea, and we will add, "and Satan came also."

Massasoit went in person to Plymouth to demand Squanto, but the governor succeeded in putting him off at that time. Soon after, Massasoit sent a messenger to Plymouth to entreat the governor to consent to the execution of Squanto, and the governor said that Squanto deserved death, but he knew not how to get along without him. Massasoit then sent several messengers, who offered many beaver skins, that Squanto might be given up to them. They demanded him in the name of Massasoit, and brought Massasoit's knife with which to cut off his head. Gov. Winslow, of the Plymouth Colony, wrote:—"By our first articles of peace we could not retain" him. The question then arises, why did they retain him? Let it be observed that these were not pagan or heathen, but christian, truce breakers who sinned against that great light and knowledge that they professed to have and by which they said that they sought to improve the moral condi-

tion of the unenlightened and ignorant savage. Had the Indians in turn indulged in such "christian conduct," the offence would have been deemed a sufficient excuse for making war upon them, and endeavoring to do what is conveyed in the language of one of the pious English ministers, the Rev. Increase Mather,* who when describing a battle in which old Indian men and old Indian women, the wounded and also helpless children were burned alive, said, "this day we brought five hundred Indian souls to hell."†

In 1623, Massasoit sent a messenger to Plymouth to say that he was sick, and Gov. Bradford despatched Mr. Winslow to go to Massasoit with some medicines and cordials. Hobbamock attended Mr. Winslow as interpreter, and an English gentleman, whose home was in London but who had wintered at Plymouth and desired much to see the Indian country, acted as consort. This English gentleman, whose name was John Hamden, is thought to have been identical with the John Hampden afterward so celebrated in the time of King Charles I., and who died of a wound received in battle while supporting the cause of the parliament. As they journeyed on their way, they found that many of the Indians of the country through which they travelled had already preceded them, it being the Indian custom for all friends to attend on such occasions, to show sympathy for, and pay proper respect to, their distressed or dying chief.

It was in the month of March, and at about one o'clock on the second day of their journey, they came

* Rev. Increase Mather was a son of Rev. Richard Mather, who came to Massachusetts in 1635 and died in 1699. Increase, the son, was settled in the ministry at Boston. He was a "doctor" of divinity, and the author of this work thinks that he needed to be, for his divinity was evidently sick. Increase Mather died in 1723. He was the father of Rev. Cotton Mather.

† The bible speaks of those whose "tender mercies are cruel." Is it possible that this early New England divine was one of them?

to a ferry in Caunbitant's country, now Swansea. Of Caunbitant, who was one of the most renowned captains under Massasoit, the English had good reason to stand somewhat in fear, for in August, 1621, he was believed to have been in league with the Narragansets in plotting to overthrow Massasoit, and was also accused of visiting the Indians at Namasket, now Middleborough, and seeking "to draw the hearts of Massasoit's subjects from him; speaking disdainfully of us [the Pilgrims], storming at the peace between Nauset, Cummaquid and us, and at Tisquantum the worker of it, also at Tokamahamon and one Hobomok." At Namasket, Caunbitant attacked a house and captured Squanto, for he said if Squanto were dead the English would then have lost their tongue. Hobbamock, seeing Squanto in the hands of Caunbitant, who was holding his knife at Squanto's breast, escaped and went to Plymouth with the report of what was going on. No time was lost by the Plymotheans in sending out fourteen soldiers under Captain Miles Standish, with Hobbamock for a guide, and after much toil they came near the place where they expected to find Caunbitant, but there learned he had left Namasket and gone to his home at Mettapoissett.* This threatening attitude of affairs caused Caunbitant to go to Plymouth, where in September, 1621, a treaty of amity and peace was made and signed by him; but still the English had reason to suspect that he at heart was their enemy, and only waiting a convenient opportunity to make it known.

But to return to the attempted visit to Massasoit. On arriving at this ferry† in Caunbitant's country, said

* Now called "Gardiner's Neck." It is in the town of Swansea.

† This ferry must have been tended by Indians. A ferry on Taunton River, between what is now Freetown and Somerset, was tended by Indians in 1660, and some land on the Freetown side of the river reserved for the Indians that they might continue to be ferrymen.

Mr. Winslow, "upon discharging my piece, divers Indians came to us from a house not far off. There they told us that Massasowat was dead, and that day buried. This news struck us blank; but especially Hobbamock, who desired we might return with all speed. I told him I would first think of it, considering now that he being dead Conbatant was the most like to succeed him, and that we were not above three miles from Mattapuyst his dwelling place. (Appendix No. 5.) Although he were but a hollow hearted friend toward us, I thought no time so fit as this to enter into more friendly terms with him and the rest of the sachems there about; hoping through the blessing of God it would be a means in that unsettled state to settle their affections towards us; and though it were somewhat dangerous in respect of our personal safety, because myself and Hobbamock had been employed upon a service against him, which he might fitly revenge; yet esteeming it the best means, leaving the event to God in his mercy, I resolved to put it in practice if master Hamden and Hobbamock durst attempt it with me; whom I found willing to that or any other course that might tend to the general good. So we went towards Mattapuyst and went to the *sachimocomaco*, for so they called the sachem's place, though they call an ordinary house *witeo*; but Conbatant the sachem was not at home, but at Puckanokick which was some five or six miles off. The squa-sachem, for so they call the sachem's wife, gave us friendly entertainment. Here we inquired again concerning Massasowat; they thought him dead, but knew no certainty. Whereupon I hired one to go, with all expedition, to Puckanokick that we might know the certainty thereof, and withal to acquaint Conbatant with our there being. About half an hour before the sun setting the messenger returned and told us that he was not dead, though

there was no hope we should find him living. Upon this we were much revived, and set forward with all speed, though it was late within night ere we got thither.

"When we came thither, we found the house so full of men as we could scarce get in, though they used their best diligence to make way for us. There were they in the midst of their charms for him, making such a hellish noise as it distempered us that were well, and therefore unlike to ease him that was sick. About him were six or eight women who chafed his arms, legs and thighs to keep heat in him. When they had made an end of their charming, one told him that his friends the English were come to see him. Having understanding left, but his sight was wholly gone, he asked who was come. They told him Winsnow, for they cannot pronounce the letter *l*, but ordinarily *n* in place thereof. He desired to speak with me. When I came to him and they told him of it, he put forth his hand to me which I took. Then he said twice though very inwardly, *Keen Winsnow?* which is to say, Art thou Winslow? I answered, *Ahhe*, that is, Yes. Then he doubled these words, *Matta neen wonckanet n-nem, Winsnow!* that is to say, O Winslow, I shall never see thee again! Then I called Hobbamock and desired him to tell Massasowat that the governor hearing of his sickness, was sorry for the same; and though by many businesses he could not come himself, yet he sent me with such things for him as he thought most likely to do good in this extremity; and whereof if he pleased to take, I would presently give him; which he desired, and having a confection of many comfortable conserves on the point of my knife, I gave him some which I could scarce get through his teeth. When it was dissolved in his mouth he swallowed the juice of it; whereat those that were about him much rejoiced,

saying that he had not swallowed anything in two days before. Then I desired to see his mouth; which was exceedingly furred, and his tongue swelled in such a manner as it was not possible for him to eat such meat as they had, his passage being stopped up. Then I washed his mouth and scraped his tongue, and got abundance of corruption out of the same. After which I gave him more of the confection which he swallowed with more readiness. Then he desired to drink. I dissolved some of it in water and gave him thereof. Within half an hour this wrought a great alteration in him in the eyes of all that beheld him. Presently after, his sight began to come to him. Then I gave him more and told him of a mishap we had in breaking a bottle of drink which the governor also sent him, saying if he would send any of his men to Patuxet [now Plymouth], I would send for more of the same; also for chickens to make him broth, and for other things which I knew were good for him; and would stay the return of his messenger if he desired. This he took marvellously kindly and appointed some who were ready to go by two of the clock in the morning; against which time I made ready a letter declaring therein our good success, the state of his body, &c., desiring to send such things as I sent for and such physic as the surgeon durst administer to him.

"He requested me that the day following I would take my piece and kill some fowl and make him some English pottage such as he had eaten at Plymouth, which I promised. After his stomach coming to him, I must needs make him some without fowl before I went abroad, which somewhat troubled me; but being I must do somewhat I caused a woman to bruise some corn and take the flour from it and set over the grit or broken corn in a pipkin, for they have earthen pots of all sizes. When the day broke we went out it being

March to seek herbs, but could not find any but strawberry leaves of which I gathered a handfull and put into the same, and because I had nothing to relish it, I went forth again and pulled up a sassafras root and sliced a piece thereof and boiled it till it had a good relish and took it out again. The broth being boiled I strained it through my handkerchief, and gave him at least a pint which he drank, and liked it very well. After this his sight mended more and more, and he took some rest; insomuch as we with admiration blessed God for giving his blessing to such raw and ignorant means, making no doubt of his recovery, himself and all of them acknowledging us as instruments of his preservation. The messengers were now returned, but finding his stomach come to him he would not have the chickens killed but kept them for breed. Neither durst we give him any physic which was sent, because his body was so much altered since our instructions; neither saw we any need, not doubting now of his recovery if he were careful.

"Many whilst we were there came to see him; some by their report from a place not less than a hundred miles. Upon his recovery he brake forth into these speeches: 'Now I see the English are my friends and love me; and whilst I live I will never forget this kindness they have showed me.' Whilst we were there, our entertainment exceeded all other strangers."

This interesting account of Massasoit's sickness, and of the kind and successful treatment thereof by the English, is from the work entitled "Good News from New England."

In 1632, a war broke out between the Wampanoags under Massasoit, and the Narragansetts under their chieftain Canonicus, but the English taking part with Massasoit, it was soon ended and with but little blood-

shed. The war with Canonicus, however, furnished to Massasoit what he deemed to be a sufficient reason for changing his name, a custom usual or common among savages, and by which they sought to commemorate important events. Owsamequin or Ousamequin was the name adopted to commemorate in his personal history the war that Massasoit waged with Canonicus in 1632.

The first great war that the English waged with the Indians in New England occurred about seventeen years after the landing of the Pilgrims at Patuxet, now Plymouth, and was with a tribe known as the Pequots, living on the borders of Connecticut River, from its mouth to near what is now the city of Hartford.

Some of our readers may possibly accuse us of wandering from our subject when entering upon any considerable details pertaining to that war with the Pequot Indians, as our intention has already been expressed of adhering to the story of Massasoit and his people, leaving the history of other tribes of Indians to the pen of another. It is not to show the strength or weakness of that or any other tribe, or of all the tribes in the country, but rather as a means of bringing to notice the real strength of the European settlers in the New England colonies at that time, together with their state of preparation for war, that we diverge from the story of Massasoit to notice some particulars pertaining to the Pequot war. The local militia of the colony of Massachusetts Bay at that date were organized as three regiments, and the roster of officers then holding military commissions in that colony, their rank and residence, was as follows :

JOHN WINTHROP, SR.

GOVERNOR and *ex-officio* GENERAL-IN-CHIEF.

SUFFOLK REGIMENT.*

JOHN WINTHROP, SR., *Colonel*, commissioned Dec. 13, 1636.
 THOMAS DUBLEY, of Cambridge, *Lieutenant Colonel*, commissioned Dec. 13, 1636.

BOSTON COMPANY.—John Underhill, *Captain*; Edward Gibbons, *Lieutenant*; Robert Harding, *Ensign*.

ROXBURY COMPANY.—Officers not yet commissioned.

DORCHESTER COMPANY.—Israel Stoughton, *Captain*; Nathaniel Duncan, *Lieutenant*; John Holman, *Ensign*; all commissioned March 9, 1637.

WEYMOUTH COMPANY.—Officers not yet commissioned, and the company placed under the temporary charge of one of its non-commissioned officers, or a lieutenant of some other company.

HINGHAM COMPANY.—Officers not yet commissioned. They had a great deal of trouble and sharp contention at Hingham to decide upon who the commissioned officers of that company should be (*Barber's Hist. Col. of Mass.*, pp. 506-7).

MIDDLESEX REGIMENT.

JOHN HAYNES, of Cambridge, *Colonel*, commissioned Dec. 13, 1636. He removed to Hartford, Conn., in 1637.

ROGER HARLAKENDEN, of Cambridge, *Lieutenant Colonel*, commissioned Dec. 13, 1636. He died Nov. 17, 1638, aged 27 years.—*Paige's History of Cambridge*.

CHARLESTOWN COMPANY.—Robert Sedgwick, *Captain*; Francis Norton, *Lieutenant*.

NEWTOWN COMPANY (afterwards Cambridge).—George Cooke, *Captain*; William Spencer, *Lieutenant*; Samuel Shepherd, *Ensign*; all commissioned March 9, 1637.

* These regiments, at their formation in 1636, were not named for the counties, but soon after came to be, and thus continued to be known for quite a long term of years.

WATERTOWN COMPANY.—William Jennison, *Captain*, commissioned March 9, 1637.

CONCORD COMPANY.*—Office of captain probably vacant; Simon Willard, *Lieutenant*, commissioned March 9, 1637.

DEDHAM COMPANY.—Officers not yet commissioned.

ESSEX REGIMENT.

JOHN ENDICOTT, of Salem, *Colonel*, commissioned Dec. 13, 1636. He was made Governor of Mass. in 1644.

JOHN WINTHROP, Jr., *Lieutenant Colonel*, commissioned Dec. 13, 1636.

SAUGUS COMPANY.—Nathaniel Turner, *Captain*, commissioned March, 1634; Daniel Howe, *Lieutenant*, commissioned March 9, 1637; Richard Walker, *Ensign*, commissioned March 9, 1637.

SALEM COMPANY.—William Trask, *Captain*; Richard Davenport, *Lieutenant*; Thomas Reade, *Ensign*.

IPSWICH COMPANY.—Daniel Denison, *Captain*, commissioned March 9, 1637.

NEWBURY COMPANY.—Captain's office vacant by the discharge of Capt. John Spencer, May 17, 1637; Edward Woodman, *Lieutenant*, commissioned May 17, 1637.

And besides the fourteen companies enumerated in these three regiments, the militia of Marblehead and Medford, though not organized as companies, were liable to military duty. The proportionate strength of the militia in the different towns in the colony of Massachusetts Bay, at that time, can be arrived at by the number of men drafted from each town for service against the Pequot Indians:—Newbury, 8; Ipswich,

* Perhaps the numerical strength of the Concord company at that date did not entitle it, according to the custom of those times, to have a captain; as they soon after, if not then, had captains' companies, lieutenants' companies and ensigns' companies. The militia of each town constituted at least one company, and as some towns had more militiamen than others, these companies must needs vary considerably in strength. The largest companies had a captain, lieutenant and ensign; the next in size, a lieutenant and ensign; the smallest, only an ensign.

23 ; Salem, 24 ; Saugus, 21 ; Watertown, 19 ; New-towne (afterwards Cambridge), 12 ; Marblehead, 4 ; Charlestown, 16 ; Boston, 35 ; Roxbury, 13 ; Dorchester, 17 ; Weymouth, 7 ; Hingham, 8 ; Medford, 4. —*Mass. Colony Records.* (Appendix, No. 6.)

Plymouth Colony, at the date of that war with the Pequots, had only three incorporated towns, viz., Plymouth, Scituate and Duxbury, and the militia of the colony had not yet been divided, but continued to act in and constitute one company, of which Miles Standish was Captain, and William Holmes, Lieutenant. The following named militiamen of Plymouth Colony volunteered as soldiers to go out to battle with the Pequot Indians. Sergeant Richard Church,* Thomas Clark, George Soule, Samuel Jenney, Constant Southworth, Nathaniel Thomas, Goarton, John Cook, Stephen Hopkins, John Hayward, Thomas Williams, Nicholas Presland, Thomas Pope, Philip Delano, Francis Billington, Henry Willis, Giles Hopkins, John Phillips, Thomas Goarton, Peregrine White, Caleb Hopkins, Samuel Nash, Robert Mendall, Henry Sampson, Thomas Redding, Love Brewster, Edward Holman, William Paddy, John Harker, Richard Clough, Henry Ewell, Joseph Biddle, William Tubbs, John Barnes, George Kennerick, Thomas Holloway, John Irish, John Jenkins and Jacob Cook. In addition to going himself, Nathaniel Thomas offered to provide another man, and Joseph Robinson proposed to furnish a substitute.—*Ply. Col. Records.*

* Sergeant Richard Church was born in or about 1608; emigrated to America in 1630; made a freeman of Plymouth Colony Oct. 4, 1632; united in marriage with Elizabeth, a daughter of Richard Warren, in 1636; was by trade a carpenter. The oldest son of Serg. Richard Church was Benjamin Church, born in 1639, the distinguished hero of King Philip's war, in which he served as a captain; served afterwards as major and also as colonel in several expeditions against the French and Indians in what is now the State of Maine, and died in Little Compton, Jan. 17, 1718.

Lieut. William Holmes* was appointed to command the Plymouth Colony forces in this expedition against the Pequots, and it was ordered that his company should consist of thirty soldiers, and sailors enough to manage the barque that was to be employed for transportation. Two hundred pounds was the estimated expense, and for this a tax of one hundred pounds was laid on the town of Plymouth, and fifty pounds each on the towns of Scituate and Duxbury. Massachusetts Colony estimated its part of the expense at six hundred pounds, and proposed raising a force of two hundred men. One company of these was put under command of Capt. Daniel Patrick, who had Lieut. Daniel Howe,† of Saugus, for his lieutenant in the expedition. Capt. John Underhill,‡ of Boston, commanded another of these Massachusetts companies. Capt. William Trask, of Salem, was also a captain in the expedition, with Richard Davenport,|| of Salem, as his lieutenant.

* Lieut. William Holmes was subsequently promoted to major, and died in 1649, leaving no children.—*Winsor's History of Duxbury*.

† Lieut. Daniel Howe was one of the original members of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, of Boston. He joined in 1637, and at the first election of officers of that company, holden the 1st Monday of June, 1638, Robert Keayne was made Captain, Daniel Howe Lieutenant, and Joseph Weld Ensign.—*Hist. of Anc. and Hon. Art. Co.*

‡ Capt. John Underhill was one of the original members of the A. H. A. Company, at Boston. He was an eccentric man, and generally went to excess in whatever he undertook. In religion, he was an enthusiast; in practice, a debauchee. He was a church member, and that body once arraigned him for his offences, one of the charges being that he dated his conversion from a time when he was smoking tobacco, those who "were wise unto salvation" deciding it should rather have been while he was listening to the preached word. He was sentenced to sit on the stool of repentance in church, with a white cap upon his head, and recompelled to make a public confession of his sins. He held no office in the A. H. A. Company.—*Hist. of Anc. and Hon. Art. Co.*

|| Richard Davenport joined the A. H. A. Company in 1640. A fortification for the defence of Boston Harbor, called Castle William, was rebuilt under the direction of Lieut. Richard Davenport. It was on the site of what is now called Fort Independence. He was the first regular commander of the castle, and was killed there by lightning, July 15, 1665, while sleeping in a room separated only by a thin board partition from the powder magazine; but the lightning was not communicated to the powder, nor did it do any material damage to the building. He held in the A. H. A. Company no higher office than that of sergeant.—*Hist. of Anc. and Hon. Art. Co.*

Connecticut sent to the field ninety English soldiers, making in the whole furnished by the three colonies some 330 men. I shall not go into an account of what occurred in that expedition, as it does not form any essential part of the history of Massasoit and the tribes over which he ruled—the Pequots being a tribe over which Massasoit exercised no control whatever, and this digression to speak of the Pequot war has been made, as already intimated, to acquaint the reader with the condition of the European settlers in New England at that date, their numbers, strength and state of preparation for war.

A very important feature in our colonial history, and one that ought never to be overlooked or decided upon hastily, is the manner in which the emigrant settlers became possessed of their titles to Indian lands. It is asserted "now-a-days" that until King Phillip's war, which occurred about fifty-five years subsequently to the landing of the Pilgrims at Patuxet, now Plymouth, all lands within the old colony obtained by the European settlers, were PURCHASED of the Indians, and never taken from the latter by force; which statement is in the main probably true, though for a time no records of such purchases (if indeed these were purchases) are now to be found.

Some twenty-eight years after the landing and commencement of an English settlement at Plymouth, it came to be the practice of the Plymotheans when purchasing lands of the Indians to obtain a lasting evidence of such purchase, and transfer of title from native to emigrant, by taking a deed and having the same duly entered upon the records of the court at Plymouth. At a little earlier date the Plymotheans acquired the habit of calling upon the witness stand some of their oldest dwellers in the country, and taking their testi-

mony under oath that certain tracts of Indian lands, then in the possession of the English, were fairly and properly obtained of the Indians by purchase, and such depositions being entered in and upon the records of the colonial court were relied upon as a title to such lands, of which no written evidences of the purchase in the form, spirit or letter of a deed could be found, and of which, perhaps, none ever existed.

It was upon such evidence as this that the English held their "land title" to the township of Rehoboth from Nov. 1, 1642, until March 30, 1668, when a "quit claim" in form and in writing was obtained of King Philip, son of the deceased chieftain Massasoit, of whom it was claimed by the English that the purchase had long since been made (Appendix, No. 7). In 1649, the English purchased ancient Bridgewater of the Indians, or what now constitutes the *terra firma* of Abington, Bridgewater, Brockton, East Bridgewater, Rockland, South Abington and West Bridgewater, and of this the grantees took a written deed that was duly recorded, and the further particulars of which may be learned by consulting the Appendix, No. 8.* Nov. 29, 1652, the English obtained a deed from the natives of ancient and original Dartmouth. That also embraced what afterwards became the townships of Fairhaven and Westport, the city of New Bedford, and nearly all of the township of Acushnet (Appendix, No. 9).† March 9, 1653, Massasoit, who was then called Osamequin, and his son Wamsutta, conveyed by deed to the English several parcels of land lying on the south-easterly side of Sinkunke, alias Rehoboth, "bounded by a little brooke called Moskituash westerly

* The Indian name for Bridgewater was Nunkatest, and also Satucket. The Indian name for Abington was Maramooskeagin.

† The Indian names for different localities in ancient Dartmouth were as follows:—That still Dartmouth was Apponeg inset; Fairhaven part was Scocticut; New Bedford, Accoosnet; Westport, Acoaxet.

and soe running by a dead swamp eastward and soe by marked trees unto the great river and all the meadow about the sides of both and about the neck called Chachacust, also Popasquash neck, also the meadow from the bay to Keecomwett," and all in consideration of 35 pounds sterling. Sept. 21, 1657, Massasoit ratified in writing the sale to the English of Chesewanocke, or Hog Island, as it came to be called, which his son Wamsutta had bargained and sold to Richard Smith of Portsmouth, R. I., under date of Feb. 7, 1653. For further particulars concerning Hog Island, see Appendix, No. 10.

Of the lands claimed and occupied by European settlers within the former domain of Massasoit, by far the greater portion at the date of that chieftain's death had not been secured to the white people by written instruments or deeds from the native Indians. But that circumstance or fact, of course, does not in and of itself prove that the titles claimed by the white people were not justly and fairly acquired, and in consideration of proper remuneration well and truly made to the red men, the former possessors and rightful owners of the soil. We here cite these facts that those who so confidently assert that the Indians were paid for *all* their lands taken by the whites within the limits of Plymouth Colony, until the war of 1675-6, may learn that there is now extant no positive proof whatever whether the white people did or did not pay the Indians for all their lands, and upon circumstantial evidence alone can that point be determined; and while one person can discover satisfactory evidence to prove that the natives were well and truly paid for their lands, another with equal honesty may see cause to believe that they were not thus fairly dealt with and paid. Whether the Indians were paid for *all* their Old Colony lands that came to be occupied by the English settlers be-

tween 1620 and 1676, is therefore, even now, an *open question*, nor will it be finally disposed of by any mere assertion though repeated many thousand times. We live in an age when appeal is made to that god-like attribute *reason*, that constitutes the essential difference between a man and a brute, and is that which has raised man to occupy a higher sphere than a brute, and qualified him to rule over all other species of animate nature. To reason, therefore, must we look to determine this and all other vexed questions; reason is everything—mere assertion nothing. The general course of conduct of the whites toward the natives in other matters should be the principal criterion by which to judge what their conduct really was in this, and to that test will this question be finally subjected, and thus will its merits be decided.*

The chieftain Massasoit had two brothers, named Quadequina and Akkompoin.

Massasoit had at least one wife, and as poligamy was then practised among the Indians, perhaps he had several wives. He had three sons and one daughter, and is believed to have had other children of whom no account has been handed down to us. Let us now proceed to consider the personal history of each of the children of Massasoit, male and female, so far as the names of these have come to our knowledge, referring to them in the supposed order of their births.

* It is a noticeable fact that the records of Plymouth Colony still show that its colonial court had the presumption to grant to certain of its inhabitants Indian lands that those inhabitants subsequently bought of the Indians. So it would seem that, though the form of a sale appears, the sale was a forced one. The Indian might sell what he wished to retain, or have it taken away from him, and there was certainly no even-handed justice in that.

II.

WAMSUTTA, *alias* ALEXANDER.

WAMSUTTA was the eldest son of Massasoit; or, if not the first born son, he was, by the decease of those older, or other cause at present unknown, the oldest of whom history has furnished us any knowledge.. The date of this son's birth is unknown; he came to historic notice as early as 1639, under the name of Moonanam.. This name, according to a custom common among the natives, he soon after changed.. Hence, two years later, viz., 1641, he appeared under the name of Wamsutta,* and about fifteen years later he accepted from the English at Plymouth the name of Alexander, which he retained until his death.

Namumpum, alias Tatapanum, alias Weetamoo, became the wife of this the eldest son of Massasoit, in or before 1653. She was called the "squaw sachem of Pocasset," and as such she claimed not only to rule the Indians of that section of country, but she also claimed a title or ownership to the land in her own individual right, which last claim would seem to make it appear that she had been the wife of a sub-chief before marrying this oldest son of the great chief Massasoit—or, if not the wife, then the daughter of a sub-chief who at his decease left no son to inherit his lands and honors.

Wamsutta appears to have been inclined to sell to the English these lands claimed by his wife, disposing of the same by deeds of sale, sometimes with and sometimes

* A large cotton factory at New Bedford is now known as WAMSUTTA MILL.

without her consent. It was perhaps this willingness exhibited on the part of Wamsutta to sell, that led to the sale of March 9, 1653, already described in the last chapter, and the selling of Hog Island, Feb. 7, 1653, the first named with, and the other without, first obtaining the consent of his father. Wamsutta also signed the deed of ancient Dartmouth, Nov. 29, 1652, which seems to have been with the consent of his father, although the latter did not sign the deed.

April 2, 1659, Wamsutta and his wife, who was then called Tatapanum, joined in a deed to twenty-six of the ancient freemen of Plymouth Colony, thus transferring to the latter a tract of country lying easterly of Taunton and Assonet Rivers, and which subsequently became the township of Freetown, including nearly all of what is now Fall River. The consideration of that deed was as follows: "20 coats, 2 rugs, 2 iron pots, 2 kettles and 1 little kettle, 8 pair of shoes, 6 pair of stockings, one dozen of hoes, one dozen of hatchets, 2 yards of broadcloth, and a debt to be satisfied to John Barns which was due from Wamsutta unto John Barns before the 24th of December, 1657." On the date last mentioned, Wamsutta had given a bond for a deed of the above tract, therein enumerating what he should receive for the same, which was precisely what he acknowledged, in the deed of April 2, 1659, that he had received. (Appendix, No. 11.)

Wamsutta, in 1653, made sale of a tract of country that his wife objected to, and she therefore appeared before the colonial court at Plymouth, and urged her objections, and "The court agreed to doe what they could in conuenient time for her relief." This affair was finally settled and amicably adjusted, as the following copy of the early colonial records fully shows.

I, Namumpum of Pokeeset, hauing in open court June last, fifty-nine [1659] before the governour and magis-

trates surrendered up all that right and title of such lands as Woosamequin and Wamsetta sould to the purchasers; as appeers by deeds giuen vnder theire hands, as also the said Namumpum promise to remoue the Indians of those lands; and also att the same court the said Wamsutta promised Namumpum the third part of the pay, as is expressed in the deed of which payment Namumpum haue received of John Cooke this 6 of Oct. 1659, these particulars as followeth: item; 20 yards blew trading cloth, 2 yards red cotton, 2 paire of shooes, 2 paire stockings, 6 broade hoes and 1 axe; And doe acknowledge receiued by me, Namumpum.

This document was witnessed by the Indians Squab-sen and Wahatumchquatt, and two of the English.

April 8, 1661, Wamsutta sold to Capt. Thomas Willet a tract of land that included what is now Attleborough, Mass., and Cumberland, R. I., and also parts of the present towns of Mansfield and Norton. (Appendix, No. 12.)

The death of Massasoit is thought to have occurred in or about the year 1661, or some forty years after the landing of the Pilgrims at Patuxet, now Plymouth. Mr. Drake, in his excellent history of the Indians, says that Massasoit was alive as late as September, 1661, and we think he must have died in the last part of that year, or very early in 1662, as in the latter year he was succeeded by Wamsutta, his son, as chief of the Wamponoags. It is a noticeable fact that Wamsutta had been selling lands for several years prior to this date, and perhaps he did so in the capacity of a sub-chief.

Wamsutta lived but a short time after coming to be the chief ruler of his people, his reign commencing in the very year of his death.

Some of the English settlers at Boston, having visited the Narragansets, wrote to Mr. Prince, then

governor of Plymouth Colony,* informing him that Wamsutta had solicited the Narraganset tribe of Indians to engage with him in a war against the English. Capt. Thomas Willet† was sent as a messenger to Wamsutta, whose place of residence was at Mount Hope, to desire the latter to repair to Plymouth for the satisfaction of the English and his own vindication. Capt. Willet informed the chieftain of the story in circulation concerning him, at which Wamsutta seemed to take no offence, but remarked that the Narragansets were the enemies of himself and his people, and that this was an effort of theirs to put an abuse upon him, and involve him in difficulty with the English. In short, if we can credit English writers of that day, Wamsutta readily agreed to attend the next session of the colonial court, held at Plymouth, that this charge against him might be investigated. But when the time arrived for the session of that court, instead of visiting Plymouth, he was charged with being on a visit to the Narragansets, his pretended enemies. As Wamsutta did not appear at Plymouth at the time appointed, the governor and magistrates of that colony decided to order Josias Winslow, of Marshfield, then major commandant of the colonial militia, to take a party of soldiers, and search for Wamsutta, and compel his attendance at court in Plymouth. (Appendix, No. 13.)

Supposing Wamsutta to be at his home at Mount Hope, Major Winslow took only ten men from Marshfield, intending to increase his force from the English

* Mr. Thomas Prince, of Eastham, was elected governor of Plymouth Colony from 1634 to 1638, and from 1657 to 1672, both dates inclusive.

† Capt. Thomas Willet was made mayor of the city of New York. He was buried in Seckonk, Mass. His gravestone bears the following inscription:—"1674. Here lyeth the body of the worthy Thomas Willet, Esq. who died August ye 4th in the 64th year of his age, and who was the first Mayor of New York and twice did sustain the place."

settlements lying nearest Mount Hope. But Massasoit, and his sons Wamsutta and Philip after him, had several temporary residences between Mount Hope and Plymouth: one of these residences being in what is now Raynham (Appendix, No. 14); another in the Titicut part of Middleborough; and a third at Munponset Pond, in what is now the town of Halifax (Appendix, No. 15). At a hunting house in the place last named, Major Winslow found Wamsutta and quite a number of his men (one authority says 80), who appear to have been taken wholly by surprise, and their arms that were standing together a short distance from the house were all seized by the English, who then beset the house, and taking Wamsutta prisoner, desired him to walk a little aside that Major Winslow might communicate to him the cause of this proceeding, and also the orders he had received concerning him. A brother of John Sausamon being present acted as interpreter. On receiving from Major Winslow the message, Wamsutta showed anger, and replied that the governor had no reason to credit unfavorable rumors or to send for him in such a manner, and that he would go to Plymouth when he saw cause. Wamsutta being unarmed, Major Winslow presented his loaded pistol at the breast of the chieftain, requiring him to retract his expressed determination, and an immediate compliance with the governor's demand; and at the same time threatened Wamsutta with death upon the spot if he still refused; but with none effect.

Hereupon the interpreter interposed, and asked to have a few words with the sachem before he answered, which prudent discourse between the two red heathen, so unlike the passionate zeal of the white christian, so softened Wamsutta, that upon his "second sober thought" he yielded and consented to go with Major Winslow and his party to Plymouth, provided "that

he might go as a sachem with his men attending him," and not as a culprit or a prisoner,—“which,” as the early English writer continues, “although there was some hazard in it, they being many and the English but few, was granted him.” The weather being hot, the Major offered Wamsutta a horse to ride, but the chief’s wife and several other Indian women being in the company, Wamsutta declined the offer, saying that he could go on foot as well as they, and asking only that the speed of their travel might be regulated so that the females might properly comply with their pace; and this was accordingly done.

Wamsutta and his Indian companions were taken to and lodged in Major Winslow’s house, and courteously entertained there until Governor Prince, who resided in Eastham, should arrive.

Awaiting the arrival of the governor, Wamsutta fell violently sick, and Mr. Fuller, an English physician, prescribed for him; but the chief growing worse, he was permitted to go home, upon his promise to return at the next sitting of the court,—a promise that death prevented him from keeping.

This is according to the account of that affair by Rev. Increase Mather. The Rev. John Cotton,* in a letter to Rev. Increase Mather, somewhat varies the account. He says that “at Munponset River, a place not many miles hence, they found Alexander with about eight men and sundry squaws.” “He was there about getting canoes.” “He and his men were at breakfast under their shelter, their guns being without.” They saw the English coming but continued

* There were three ministers named John Cotton. One was born in England, and came to this country where he became distinguished both as a speaker and a writer. Rev. John Cotton, son of the above, was eminent for his knowledge of the Indian language. He revised and superintended the printing of Eliot’s Indian bible. Another John Cotton was minister at Newton, Mass., and died in 1757.

eating; and Mr. Winslow telling their business, Alexander freely and readily, without the least hesitancy, consented to go, giving his reason why he came not to the court before, viz., because he waited for Captain Willet's return from the Dutch, being desirous to speak with him first."

Now which account appears the most reasonable,—which is most in accordance with common sense? We must decide this in our own minds and each reader for himself, for these christian writers, called of God and ordained of men to tell the truth, told two widely different stories about the same matter, so different that but for names and dates no one would suspect that they were describing the same event.

Another early writer, the Rev. William Hubbard,* says Wamsutta's Indians who were with him at this time were 80 in number; and, the Rev. John Cotton, his brother minister, says there were only 8. Had "ungodly sinners" varied thus in their testimony, doubtless one or the other would have been "liars," and had such been the declarations of Indians, it would have been laid to their heathenism and ignorance of the "gospel of truth," lack of christian teachings and christian example.

The Rev. Mr. Cotton added that "Governor Prince living remote at Eastham, those few magistrates who were at hand issued the matter peaceably, and immediately dismissed Alexander to return home, which he did part of the way; but in two or three days after, he returned and went to Major Winslow's house, intending thence to travel into the *bay* [as the Mass. Colony was then called], and so home; but at the major's house he was taken very sick, and was by water conveyed to

* Rev. William Hubbard was minister at Ipswich, Mass. He wrote a history of early wars with the Indians in New England. He died in 1704.

Major Bradford's, and thence carried upon the shoulders of his men to the Tethquet River, and thence in canoes home, and about two or three days after died."

And thus was Namumpum, alias Tatapanum, alias Weetamoo, the wife of Wamsutta, alias Alexander, left a widow some time in 1662.

She did not long remain a widow, but soon after contracted a marriage with an Indian named Peto-nowowett, but by the English called "Ben."

While Weetamoo was thus associated in the marriage relation she conveyed other of her lands to the English, or allowed her second husband thus to do, he and other Indians on the 8th of May, 1673, conveying by deed a tract of land in what is now Swansea.

At the breaking out of King Philip's war (viz. June, 1675), the subjects of Weetamoo who was then called the "squaw sachem of Pocasset," were so numerous that her armed men, able to go out upon the war path, were supposed to number three hundred.

Mrs. Rowlandson, an English woman, who was for a time a prisoner among the Indians, thus discoursed concerning Weetamoo. "Wettimore with whom I had lived and served all this while, A severe and proud dame was she; bestowing every day in dressing herself near as much time as any of the gentry of the land—powdering her hair and painting her face, going with her necklaces, with jewels in her ears and bracelets upon her hands. When she had dressed herself, her work was to make girdles of wampum and beads."

Concerning a dance by which the Indians commemorated the Sudbury fight, Mrs. Rowlandson said that the dance "was carried on by eight of them, four men and four squaws." Weetamoo was one of those squaws, and Mrs. Rowlandson adds concerning her, that "She had a Kearsey coat covered with girdles of wampum

from the loins upward. Her arms from her elbows to her hands were covered with bracelets ; there were handfulls of necklaces about her neck and several sorts of Jewels in her ears. She had fine red stockings and white shoes, her hair powdered and her face painted red."

Petonowowett, the second husband of Weetamoo, did not join with the Indians in King Philip's war, but went over to and aided the English in that conflict, thus helping to annihilate his own countrymen. But Petonowowett had other and perhaps better reasons for his conduct than would appear unless we consider the circumstances by which he was surrounded and the real facts of his situation. For be it remembered that, just before the breaking out of King Philip's war, the intrepid Captain Benjamin Church was on his way to Plymouth from a visit to the squaw sachem Awashouks (Appendix, No. 16), and when near what is now called "Howland ferry bridge,"* in Tiverton, he met Petonowowett just coming to the shore in a canoe from Mount Hope. Petonowowett unreservedly told Church there would certainly be war—that King Philip had held a war dance of several weeks, and had entertained the young Indian warriors from all parts of the country, and to satisfy the latter, Philip had promised them that they might the next Sunday, when the English had gone to meeting, plunder their houses and kill their cattle.

This looks as though Petonowowett was predisposed in favor of the English, else he would not thus voluntarily have communicated to Captain Church information so damaging to the Indian cause.

Petonowowett also invited Mr. Church to his resi-

* Howland's Ferry bridge connects the towns of Tiverton and Portsmouth, R. I. A ferry boat accommodated travellers, before the building of the bridge. This locality is now a popular resort for summer boarders from the cities and large towns.

dence, informing him that Weetamoo, his wife, was there, and the camping place near at hand on the hill not far from the shore. Mr. Church accepted the invitation, and repaired to the Indian camp, where he said he found Weetamoo in a melancholy mood, her warriors having left her and gone to Philip's war dance, which act of theirs she declared was much against her will.

Thus we learn that at that stage of the proceeding both Petonowowett and Weetamoo his wife were opposed to war with the English, and Weetamoo intended to be understood and was understood to say that she would have prevented her warriors from all participation in these warlike projects of King Philip if she could; that her warriors had not attended the war dances at Mount Hope by her order or even by her consent, but on the contrary "MUCH AGAINST HER WILL."

But let us consider the situation of Weetamoo, for circumstances are said to make men, and why not control women. She was not only the widow of King Philip's brother, but sister to Wootonekanaske, King Philip's wife. She had been told that the English had poisoned her former husband, and the evidence was plain that they had seduced the present one, and her warriors would disobey her commands and desert her if she did not ally herself with the Indians in their cause against the English. The course which a woman under such circumstances would be most likely to take, was that which Weetamoo did take, though it forever separated her from her husband, who still adhered to the English and assisted them in the war then about commencing; and after its close Petonowowett was appointed to take charge of those Indian prisoners that were permitted to reside in the country between Sepecan and Dartmouth. Urged as Weetamoo was by King Philip and all these considerations, she yielded, and to

his fate and that of her countrymen she united her own; and hence, in the language of an ancient publication now called the "OLD INDIAN CHRONICLE," she came in people's minds to have been justly chargeable "*next unto Philip in respect of the mischief that*" was "*done.*" Weetamoo, on separating from Petonowowett, became the wife of Quinapin, an Indian of the Narraganset tribe and a son of a Narraganset chief called Canjanaquond and also Cogianaquan. The father of Quinapin was a brother of Mossup, alias Mospie, and nephew of the great chief Canonicus.

Miantunnomah was an uncle of Quinapin, who, like many Indians at that time, was known under several aliases, thus,—Quanopin, Quonopin, Quanapin, Quonopin, Quenoquin, Panoquin and Sowagonish. Quinapin was one of the Indian chiefs who led in the attack on Lancaster, Feb. 10, 1675. The number of Indians who participated in that attack has been reckoned as high as fifteen hundred warriors, and consisted of the Wampanoags led by King Philip, and their allies the Narragansets, Nipmucks and Nashaways. About fifty of the English inhabitants were taken prisoners, and quite a number slain. All the buildings of that settlement, save two, were reduced to ashes. Mrs. Rowlandson, wife of Rev. Joseph Rowlandson, and two of her children, were among the captives. Her captor, a Narraganset Indian, sold her to Quinapin. Speaking of Quinapin in her published narrative, Mrs. Rowlandson says: "My master had three squaws, living sometimes with one and sometimes with another. Onux, this old squaw at whose wigwam I was and with whom my master had been these three weeks. Another was Wettimore, with whom I had lived and served all this time. The third squaw was a young one by whom he had two papooses."

The Narragansets and Nipmucks were encamped near Connecticut river, perhaps in what is now New Hampshire or Vermont, in the winter, while King Philip's war was progressing and reduced to great straits for food, corn bringing two shillings a pint. Some of the Indians were in favor of listening to terms of peace, but Canonchet and Panoquin, alias Quinapin, said they would fight it out to the last man rather than they would become servants to the English. While there encamped and thus circumstanced, Mrs. Rowlandson writes: "My master's maid came home; she had been gone three weeks into the Narraganset country, to fetch corn, where they had stored up some in the ground. She brought home about "a peck and a half of corn."*

The union and harmony which had characterized the actions of the Wamponoags, Narragansets and Nipmucks was broken by intestine bickerings, and King Philip, with the warriors of his tribe, came back to their old hunting grounds, accompanied by Quinapin; and soon after this, viz., in July, 1676, Capt. Benjamin Church was informed that they, with quite a body of Indians, were in a cedar swamp near Aponaganset. Quinapin had a narrow escape from the English soldiers of what is now Bridgewater, at the same time (1676) that Akkompoin, a brother of Massasoit and uncle of King Philip, was slain. Only a few days later, Quinapin was captured, and on the 25th day of August, 1676, the authorities of Rhode Island caused him to be shot at Newport.

* What nation or people, since the world had a written history, ever exhibited more heroic fortitude and endurance than this. Just think of it—a young female, in the dead of winter; travels on foot from Vermont or New Hampshire to Rhode Island and back again to get twelve quarts of corn, to keep those she holds most dear from starving; and yet her praises have neither been said or sung. Had she been a white woman, no bible heroine would have been higher esteemed; and is not virtue under a red skin, virtue still?

While a prisoner, Quinapin was charged with adhering to and assisting King Philip in the war, which he admitted was true, and he further said that he participated in the Great Swamp Fight, in what is now Kingston, R. I., Dec. 19, 1675, and claimed to have been next in command to Canonchet at that time. Two brothers of Quinapin were also prisoners with him. The name of one of these was Sunkeejunaswe; and that of the other, Ashamattan.

From what has been already stated, the reader will be led to conclude that Weetamoo must have been a woman of sorrow and acquainted with grief, and yet the story of all her sufferings has not been told—the sum total of her woes culminating in her singular death. Driven from pillar to post, as she had been by the English since uniting her fortunes with those of King Philip, and particularly since the star of his martial glory had begun seriously to wane—giving evidence that it was soon to set in the interminable darkness of an overwhelming defeat—her warriors, who at the commencement of the conflict had been numbered at three hundred men, were now reduced to twenty-six. Her lands, that a short time before were of great value, now affording her no abiding place, she fled to the Niantic country, or what is now westerly Rhode Island, where being still pursued, she was found to have gone with her little band to Mettapoissett, now Gardiner's neck, in Swansea (Appendix, No. 17). While concealed in that vicinity, a deserter from her camp, repairing to Taunton, acquainted the people of that place with her forlorn condition and present location, and, Judas-like, offered to discover to them her hiding-place. Accordingly twenty strong men volunteered to hunt down the defenceless woman, and with the Indian traitor for their guide succeeded in surprising the camp of the distressed fugitives, capturing all save

Weetamoo, who seems to have preferred death to capture ; for she made one desperate effort to escape, knowing, as she did, that the "tender mercies" of christian whites, as exercised upon red 'heathen, "are cruel," and upon a raft of broken pieces of wood she took to the water, and was seen no more until her corpse, entirely naked, drifted ashore.* This was seized upon by the whites ; with savage triumph the head was cut off, carried to Taunton, and set upon a pole ; where being seen by some Indian prisoners, it set them into a woful and heart-rending lamentation. It required the hard heart of a pious divine and christian minister,† the Rev. Increase Mather, to clothe this sad story in language inhuman and almost devilish. In describing the event, he said,—"They made a most horid and *diabolical* lamentation, crying out that it was their queen's head." If to lament the sad end of their queen was *diabolical* on the part of the Indians, what was this cruel mockery of their grief by a christian minister, and what had the heathen to gain by listening to *his* teachings, or adhering to *his* practice? With such apostles as the Rev. Increase Mather, why has not the whole world been converted long and long ago?

Imperfect as our description has been, it is all we purpose herein to communicate concerning the personal histories of that noble chieftain, the great and "good

* In the city of Fall River, near the shore of Taunton River in which Weetamoo perished, stands a large cotton factory, named in honor of this unfortunate American queen. It was near the site of the WEETAMOO MILL that her dead body was washed ashore, and mutilated by professed christians in brutal triumph. What a comment on our boasted civilization!

† To any and all readers of this book who may or shall take exceptions to this use that the author has made of the term "pious divine and christian minister," he wishes to say that he has done this in compliment to Mr. Mather who assumed it, to Mr. Mather's colleagues and coadjutors who accorded it to him, and to his biographers who for more than one hundred and fifty years have reiterated it. Facts are stubborn things. Could Satan, when contending with Michael the archangel about the dead body of Moses, have used a vocabulary more hellish than that of this puritan oracle? whom, say we, may the Lord rebuke.





POMETACOM, ALIAS KING PHILIP.

(Engraved from a drawing made by PALO ALTO PEIRCE, of Freetown.)

old Massasoit," his greatly abused son Wamsutta, and the grief-stricken, unfortunate Indian queen Weetamoo, her sad fate and mournful end, save as these shall from necessity be referred to, incidentally, in the biographical sketches of others of their nation—fellow sufferers in kindred woes.

III.

KING PHILIP.

THE name of Massasoit's second son was Pometacom, but this, as used by early English writers, was subjected to the following variations:—Pumatacom, Pamatacom, Pometacome and Pometacom. Mr. Samuel G. Drake, late of Boston, an excellent authority on such matters, says that Pometacom was the form of spelling usually adopted in official records.

Like Wamsutta, his brother Pometacom, alias King Philip, was too ready to gratify the covetous appetites and grasping desires of the English settlers by selling them the Indian lands; and hence, from the white man's record, we find that soon after Philip assumed the reins of government, as successor of Wamsutta, alias Alexander, new sales of land were effected. The territorial limits of the red man's domain was thus made to grow less and less, so that even though no war had afforded the christian whites a plausible pretext for wresting from the red heathen the last vestige of the once goodly inheritance of their fathers, that last foot of land would have been demanded in the way of trade—a practical illustration of their obedience to the command, "thou shalt not covet anything that is thy neighbor's." Thus, in 1662, the territory

afterwards constituting the town of Wrentham (Appendix, No. 18), was purchased of Philip by the English; and on the 23d of June, 1664, William Brenton, of New Port, R. I., "for a valuable consideration" (or at least so said the deed), bought Mettapissett, as it was then called, now known as Gardiner's Neck, in Swansea. That deed was signed by Philip, chief sachem of Mount Hope, Cowsumpsit and all the territories thereunto belonging, and also by his wife and the following named Indians:—Tockomock, Wecopauhim, Nesetaquason, Pompaquase, Apernniate, Taquanksicke, Paquonack, Watapatahue and Aquetaquish. Two Englishmen and two Indians witnessed the signing of that deed. This tract of land was given by William Brenton to his son, Maj. Ebenezer Brenton, who under date of Dec. 30, 1693, and in consideration of the sum of £1,700, current money, sold the same to Lieut. Samuel Gardiner, of Newport, and subsequently of Freetown, and Ralph Chapman. Gardiner and Chapman divided their purchase, Feb. 4, 1694, and much of that which fell to the former has remained in the possession and ownership of his lineal descendants until now, a period of one hundred and eighty years, thus acquiring and still retaining the name of "Gardiner's Neck."

In 1665, King Philip quit-claimed his right in land about Acushnet, including what is now New Bedford. Part or the whole of this was what had been bargained away by his father, Massasoit, and £10 were now paid to King Philip to remunerate him for marking out and defining the boundaries, and to prevent his laying claim to this tract, or any part of the same.

In 1667, King Philip, for the sum of £16, sold to Constant Southworth and others all the meadow land (doubtless salt-marsh), from Dartmouth to Mettapissett. He also, in 1667, sold to Thomas Willett and

others a tract of land, two miles long and one mile wide, for £10 sterling. In 1668, King Philip and an Indian named Tatamumaque, alias Cashawashed, sold a tract of several miles square, adjacent to Pokanoket, and probably within the limits of what is now Swansea; and the next year, the same sachems, in consideration of £20, sold 500 acres of land in that town. In 1669, Philip sold John Cook, of Dartmouth, an island near that town; and in the same year, he and Tispaquin sold a considerable tract in Middleborough. In 1671, Philip and an Indian named Monjokam, for £5, sold to Hugh Cole, a shipwright residing in Swansea, a piece of land in Dartmouth lying near a place then called Acashewah. In 1672, he sold to Wm. Brenton and others, for £143, a tract of land containing twelve square miles; and a few days after, to Constant Southworth, a tract of four square miles, adjoining it. To the deed conveying the larger tract, were also appended the signatures of the Indians, Nunkampahvonett, Umnathum alias Nimrod, Cheemaughton and Annawan. One or both of these tracts became a part of the township of Taunton, and was known as South Purchase; it was incorporated as a new and distinct town, May 30, 1712, and called Dighton. (Appendix, No. 19.)

King Philip had, in 1668, sold a tract of land within the limits of what subsequently became the town of Rochester, but stipulated in the deed that the Indians, then living upon it, should be permitted to live there still. In that deed, it was mentioned that the Indian, Wattachpoo, consented to the sale of the same, and its stipulations. (Appendix, No. 20.)

Mr. Drake, in his *Biography and History of the Indians of North America*, remarks that "for about nine years succeeding 1662, very little is recorded concerning Philip. During this time, he became more intimate-

ly acquainted with his English neighbors ; he learned their weakness, and his own strength, which rather increased than diminished until his fatal war of 1675. For, during this period, not only their additional numbers gained them power, but their arms were greatly strengthened by the English instruments of war put into their hands. Roger Williams had early brought the Narragansets into friendship with Massasoit, which alliance gained additional strength on the accession of young Metacomet. And here we may look for a main cause of that war ; although the death of Alexander is generally looked upon, by the early historians, as almost the only one. The continual broils between the English and Narragansets (we name the English first, as they were generally the aggressors) could not be unknown to Philip ; and, if his countrymen were wronged, he knew it. And what friend will see another abused, without feeling a glow of resentment in his breast ? And who will wonder if, when these abuses had followed each other, repetition upon repetition, for a series of years, that they should break out, at last, into open war ? The Narraganset chiefs were not conspicuous at the period of which we speak ; there were several of them, but no one appears to have had a general command, or ascendancy, over the rest, and there can be little doubt that they unanimously reposed their cause in the hands of Philip. Ninigret was, at this time, grown old ; and though he seems to have had the chief authority for many years after the murder of Miantunnomoh, yet pusillanimity was always rather a predominant trait in his character. His age had probably caused his withdrawal from the others, on their resolution to second Philip. Canonchet was, at this period, the most conspicuous ; Pumham next ; Potok Magnus, the squaw-sachem, whose husband Micksah had been dead several years ; and, lastly, Mattatoag."

Mr. Drake continues, "Before proceeding with later events, the following short narrative, illustrative of a peculiar custom, may not be improperly introduced. Philip, as tradition reports, made an expedition to Nantucket, in 1665, to punish an Indian who had profaned the name of Massasoit, his father; and, as it was an observance or law among them that whoever should speak evil of the dead should be put to death, Philip went there, with an armed force, to execute this law upon Gibbs. He was, however, defeated in his design; for one of Gibbs's friends, understanding Philip's intention, ran to him, and gave him notice of it just in time for him to escape; not, however, without great exertions, for Philip came once in sight of him, after pursuing him some time among the English from house to house; but Gibbs, by leaping a bank, got out of sight, and so escaped."

The Indian name of this Gibbs was Assasamoogh. He was a professor of the christian religion, and a preacher to his countrymen, an Indian church being gathered at Nantucket, which in 1674, I am informed, numbered thirty members.

The History of Nantucket notices the event, with a little variation from the foregoing, setting forth that the name of the culprit was John Gibbs, that Philip found him on the south-east part of the island, captured him, and made preparation to execute vengeance upon him, when the English spectators commiserated his condition, and made offers of money to ransom his life. Philip listened to these offers, and mentioned a sum which would satisfy him, but so much money could not be collected. In short, he received, as a ransom, the sum of £11; and thus it was that he who had spoken evil of a former ruler of his people was allowed to escape. As the testimony upon this matter is somewhat conflicting, we present to our readers the

essential points of difference, leaving it to their calm reason to decide wherein the error lies. (Appendix No. 21.)

As early as the spring of 1671, the English settlers became alarmed at the evidence they discovered of warlike preparations on the part of King Philip, and their suspicions that a plot was going forward for their destruction were further confirmed by the reluctance that he showed to comply with their request to visit Taunton. On the 10th of April, in that year, he came to a place about four miles from Taunton, attended by a band of his warriors, attired, armed and painted as for a warlike expedition. From that place, he sent messengers to Taunton, to invite the English to come and treat with him, which they declined to do; but they then, or soon after, sent Roger Williams and several other persons to inform him of their good disposition towards him, and to urge his attendance at Taunton. The wisdom of King Philip, as shown in the precaution that he took when repairing to Taunton, to be accompanied by a band of his followers, prepared for battle, and also the falsity of the English in their pretensions of good disposition towards him, needs no further proof than what occurred immediately after he complied with their oft repeated wish. For, leaving the bulk of his forces at a considerable distance from that settlement, he with a few of his warriors came near to the village, where he stopped short on discovering the warlike parade of the English,* many of whom were for attacking him at once; and, but for the Commissioners from Massachusetts Colony who had come here to meet the governor of Plymouth Colony to confer with King

* The local militia of Taunton, at that date, were embodied in one company, of which George Macy was lieutenant-commandant, and Thomas Leonard, ensign, both commissioned June 7, 1665. In 1690, it was divided into two companies, with Macy as captain of one, and Leonard of the other.

Philip, doubtless this rashness and desire for truce-breaking on the part of the soldiers of Plymouth Colony, would have been proceeded with. But the wiser counsels of the Massachusetts Commissioners prevailed, and in the end it was agreed that a council should be held in the Taunton meeting-house, one side of which should be occupied by the English and the other by the Indians. (Appendix, No. 22.)

King Philip alleged that the English injured the planted lands of his people; and this from the very nature of the case was probably true, for the Indians kept no fences, and the Englishmen's swine during the warm season of the year ranged in the forests, and whenever an Indian killed a white man's hog, the owner was quick to complain of the injury. From the frequency of these complaints, it would seem that the occasions for killing these swine, while trespassing on the Indian lands, were often afforded. Concerning his warlike preparations, King Philip said that these were not against the English, but the Narragansets; and in the making of this statement, doubtless, he was patterning after the white men's example of falsity and deception, which showed (so said the English) the naughtiness of his own heart; and of that naughtiness, they, by the frequent practice of deception, ought certainly from experience to know.

The English charged King Philip with plotting rebellion against their government, but the question is pertinent, how King Philip, an independent prince and ruler of another nation; could thus rebel. The answer King Philip made to the ambassador sent to him from the English governor, was wise, reasonable and just, and worthy of a place upon the same page in history with the famous speech of Porus, who, when taken captive by Alexander and asked how he would be treated, replied, "Like a king;" and then being asked

if he had no other request to make, said, "No, everything is comprehended in that." So when the ambassador demanded of Philip why he should make war upon the English, and requested him at the same time to enter into a treaty, the sachem replied, "Your governor is but a subject of King Charles of England; I shall not treat with a subject; I shall treat of peace only with the king, my brother; when he comes, I am ready."

At this date, bows and arrows had gone nearly out of use among the Indians, being so far superseded by guns, that, without the latter, the Indians could scarcely have provided themselves with game sufficient for food. Guns, therefore, had become far more necessary to the daily existence of the Indians, than they were or ever had been to the English. And to demand, as the prime condition of peace with the English, that the Indians should, without compensation or the return of any just equivalent, surrender and give up to the English their chief means of obtaining both food and clothing, was an unreasonable and unrighteous demand, and so exorbitant that, if complied with on the part of the Indians, would be only to accept death by hunger rather than the sword. Who then can be surprised, as the English then made this demand, that those Indians who were not already hostile, should speedily become so? The English settlers in those days laid great stress upon the Indians submitting themselves as subjects to his majesty, the king of England; a demand wholly preposterous, and which, if the Indians comprehended, they evidently only intended outwardly and for the time being to appear as doing, in order to get rid of the shameless and vexatious importunity of the English. For, that the Indians intended to submit to no such indignity and injustice, their conduct immediately afterward invariably showed. With two

such unrighteous demands, how could the English expect King Philip to comply, or cause his people either in letter or in spirit to comply? Though it is true that King Philip and his chief captains did, under the circumstances, agree to these enormities by subscribing to a treaty embracing such impracticable details, yet that he and they, and each of them, never intended to carry out, or attempt to carry out, its unrighteous provisions, is doubtless equally true, or ought to be.

Tavoser, Wispoke, Woonkaponehunt, and Nimrod, together with Philip, then and there signed this treaty, Philip and the men with him delivering up their arms to the English at Taunton, and promising to deliver up the arms of the rest of his people to the English at Plymouth. It is almost needless to add that this promise was not fulfilled. This caused a meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies to be held at Plymouth in September of that year, which resulted in extorting from King Philip the promise of the payment of £100 in such things as he had, three years being given in which to effect the payment; and that Philip should obtain, and send to the governor of Plymouth Colony, five wolves' heads yearly. This new promise was dated Sept. 26, 1671, and signed by King Philip, Wohkownahenitt, Wuttakooseim, Sonkanuhoo, Woonashum alias Nimrod, and Woospasuck. On the 3d of November following, Takanumma also signed the agreement. He is said to have been a brother of Awashouks, the squaw sachem. A general disarming of the Indians was then undertaken, resulting in trouble, as might reasonably have been expected.

Despite all efforts on the part of the English, the Indians' arms came in slowly, and the Court of Plymouth finally voted to send out forces to bring them in, and each town was ordered to be careful to provide for its own safety by convenient watches, wardings and

carrying of their arms to meeting on the Sabbath day. Thus, troubles continued, until the death of John Sassamon, in 1675.

Enough had already transpired to inflame the minds of the Indians, and to awaken in their breasts deep-rooted animosities. This Sassamon was, by birth, a Massachusetts Indian. His father and mother resided in what became the town of Dorchester; and they, with this son John, embraced the Christian religion. John learned to read and write, and translated a portion of the Bible into the Indian language, was employed to teach an Indian School at Natick, was baptized, and received as a member of one of the Indian churches; in short, became a preacher of the gospel. He was a singularly unstable-minded person, and, taking some dislike to the English, went to reside with Wamsutta; and after the death of the latter, continued with King Philip, becoming his secretary and interpreter as early as 1662. About ten years later, Sassamon was sent to preach to the Namasket Indians, and received countenance and encouragement from the chieftain, Tuspaquin, alius Watuspaquin, sometimes called the black sachem, one mark of which was the conveyance of 27 acres of land at Assawamset Neck, now in the town of Lakeville.* Sassamon had a daughter, whose Indian name was Assowetough, but by the English called "Betty," who married an Indian named Felix; and, as a further inducement for Sassamon to settle and preach to the Namasket and Assawamsett Indians, Tuspaquin and his son William deeded to Felix 58½ acres of land. Tuspaquin and his son William, by deed of gift dated Dec. 23, 1673, also conveyed to Assowetough a neck of land at Assa-

* Lakeville was formerly a part of Middleborough, from which it was set off, and incorporated as a new and distinct town, May 13, 1853. Middleborough was incorporated in June, 1669.

wamset, called Nahteawamet,* and concerning which we shall have occasion, in another part of this book, to speak again.

While thus engaged in preaching to the Indians, John Sassamon pretended to have learned that his countrymen designed a war with the English, and repairing to Plymouth, communicated this to the governor of Plymouth Colony, enjoining, however, the strictest secrecy upon the English concerning what he had revealed to them, and assuring them that if this came to King Philip's knowledge, he should be immediately put to death. Yet by some means this came to the knowledge of King Philip; as a consequence, Sassamon was considered a traitor, and, by the laws of the Indians, had forfeited his life. It is probable that Philip ordered his destruction; and as a result, early in the spring of 1675, Sassamon was found to be missing. On search being made, his body was found in Assawamset pond, and probably in that part of it lying within the limits of what is now Lakeville. It was so early in the season, that the ice remained still covering the water of the pond; and upon the ice Sassamon's hat and gun were found. But the marks upon the body, together with the fact that the neck was broken, led to the conclusion that he had neither drowned himself, nor been drowned by others, but was slain before being thrown into the water. January 29, 1675, was the date at which Sassamon was said to have been slain. Three Indians were apprehended as the murderers, viz., Tobias, Wampapaum and Mat-tushamama, and in the indictment it was charged that they "Att a place called Assowamsett Pond, wil-

* The Indian lands in Lakeville are on what is called "Assawamset Neck;" but these lands are denominated "Betty's Neck," a term derived from the fact that they were once owned by Assowetough, whom the English called "Betty."

fully and of sett purpose and of mallice fore thought, and by force and armes, did murder John Sassamon, an other Indian, by laying violent hands on him, and striking him, or twisting his necke vntill hee was dead, and to hide and conceale this theire said murder, att the time and place aforesaid, did cast his dead body through a hole in the iyce into said pond." One acknowledged his guilt, but the other two denied all knowledge of the act. They were sentenced to be hanged "by the head vntill theire bodies are dead." The Indians, Tobias and Mattushamama, were thus executed on the 8th day of June, 1675, and Wampapaum relieved for a few days, but shot within a month.*

* "The Verdict of the Jury giuen into the Court in the words followinge.

"Wee of the Jury one and all both English and Indians doe joyntly and with one consent agree vpon a verdict: that Tobias and his son Wampapaquan, and Mattashunnamo, the Indians whoe are the prisoners, are guilty of the blood of John Sassamon, and were the murderers of him according to the bill of inditement. . . . The Names of the Jury that went on this Tryall—William Sabine, William Crocker, Edward Sturgis, William Brookes, Nathaniel Winslow, John Wadsworth, Andrew Ringe, Robert Vixon, John Done, Jonathan Banges, Jonathan Shaw, Benjamin Higgins. . . . It was judged very expedient by the Court that, together with this English jury aboue named, some of the most indifferentest, grauest and sage Indians should be admitted to be with the said jury, and to healp to consult and aduice with of and concerning the premises. . . . There names are as followeth, viz.: one called by the English name, Hope, and Maskippague, Wanno, Gorge, Wampye and Acanootus; these fully concurred with the aboue written jury in theire verdict."—*Ply. Col. Rec.*, Vol. V. pp. 167-8.

It has come to be stated "now-a-days" that this jury was composed of English and Indians in equal numbers; but the foregoing copy of the official record will, it is hoped, be sufficient to correct that error. The jury consisted of 18 persons, 12 Englishmen and 6 Indians. That is a very different matter. The jury was considered full, and, according to the law of the land, was full without the six Indians, and its findings would have been conclusive even though the Indians had objected.

Mather has informed the world that blood oozed out of the dead body of John Sassamon on the approach of the accused Indians, which he seems to have considered conclusive evidence of their guilt. What was it to be ignorant when such men as Mather were accounted wise?

Ply. Col. Rec., Vol. V. p. 167, contains a copy of the bill of indictment and the verdict. In the former, the Indians are called Wampapaum and Mattushamama; in the latter, Wampapaquan and Mattashunnamo.

These events hastened matters, and brought on the war a year sooner than King Philip desired or expected. Tradition informs us that the Narraganset tribe of Indians were to have furnished 4000 warriors, ready to fall upon the English, in 1676; and this premature commencement of hostilities occasioned a partial recantation of that tribe, by which, at the commencement, concert of action was wanting, and the effect of simultaneous movement lost to the Indians, though ultimately the Narragansets joined Philip against the English. Even the praying Indians of Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies, if left to follow their own inclination, would doubtless have joined Philip, as many of them really did. It is a fact worthy of notice, that though suffering from the injustice of the English, as the Indians for several years had done, yet no open act of hostility* was committed by them until after the execution upon a gallows of Tobias and Mattushamama, charged with the murder of John Sassamon, when King Philip could no longer restrain his youthful warriors.

Having furnished the number and location of the militia companies of Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies at the date of the "Pequot War" (1637), for a better understanding of our subject we will now present a roster of the commissioned officers of the local militia, in the colonies above named, at the commencement of "King Philip's War" (1675), or about thirty-eight years subsequent to the war with the Pequots. All the militia companies of Plymouth Colony were organized as one regiment.

* It is claimed, however, that on Sunday, the 6th day of June, 1675, or two days before these Indians were hanged, the house of Job Winslow in Swansea was broken open and rifled. Job Winslow subsequently became a land holder and resident in Freetown, where, on the 14th of July, 1720, he died. His will bore date Nov. 12, 1717.

PLYMOUTH COLONY REGIMENT.

WILLIAM BRADFORD, of Plymouth, *Major Commandant*.

PLYMOUTH COMPANY.—Ephraim Morton, *Lieutenant*; Joseph Bradford, *Ensign*; both commissioned June 8, 1664.

SCITUATE COMPANY.—James Cudworth, *Captain*, commissioned June 29, 1652; Isaac Buck, *Lieutenant*; John Sutton, *Ensign*; both commissioned March 1, 1670.

DUXBURY COMPANY.—Samuel Nash, *Lieutenant*, commissioned June 4, 1645; Jonathan Alden, *Ensign*, commissioned June 1, 1658.

TAUNTON COMPANY.—George Macy, *Lieutenant*; Thomas Leonard, *Ensign*; both commissioned June 7, 1665.

YARMOUTH COMPANY.—William Hedge, *Captain*, commissioned Aug. 2, 1659; Dillingham, *Lieutenant*; John Thacher, *Ensign*; both commissioned June 7, 1674.

BARNSTABLE COMPANY.—Matthew Fuller, *Lieutenant*, commissioned Oct. 15, 1652; John Howland, *Ensign*, commissioned July 7, 1674.

SANDWICH COMPANY.—John Ellis, *Lieutenant*, commissioned June 9, 1653; Thomas Dexter, Jr., *Ensign*, commissioned June 8, 1655.

MARSHFIELD COMPANY.—Peregrine White,* *Lieutenant*; Mark Eames, *Ensign*; both commissioned June 8, 1655.

REHOBOTH COMPANY.—Peter Hunt, *Lieutenant*, commissioned Aug. 1, 1654; Henry Smith, *Ensign*, commissioned June 8, 1664.

EASTHAM COMPANY.—Joseph Rogers, *Lieutenant*, commissioned June 8, 1664; Jonathan Higgins, *Ensign*, commissioned June 1, 1675.

BRIDGEWATER COMPANY.—Thomas Hayward, Jr., *Lieutenant*; John Hayward, Sr., *Ensign*; both commissioned Sept. 27, 1664.

MIDDLEBOROUGH COMPANY.—Not fully organized at that date, but was soon afterwards by the commissioning of Isaac Howland, *Ensign*; which shows that the number of soldiers

* The first child of English parents born in Plymouth Colony. The name Peregrine is thought to have been suggested by the peregrinations or travels of the Pilgrims to Holland and to America, and then as they hoped ended.

it embraced was not sufficient to entitle it to either a captain or a lieutenant.

DARTMOUTH COMPANY.—John Smith, *Lieutenant*; Jacob Mitchell, *Ensign*; both commissioned March 4, 1674. Mitchell was slain by the Indians in King Philip's War.

SWANSEA COMPANY.—Not fully organized at that date; probably in charge of a non-commissioned officer.

CAVALRY COMPANY.—Raised at large in the different towns of Plymouth Colony. William Bradford, of Plymouth, *Captain*; John Freeman,* of Eastham, *Lieutenant*; Robert Stetson,† of Scituate, *Cornet*, or color bearer; all commissioned Oct. 2, 1659.

Plymouth Colony, at the opening of King Philip's war, had fourteen incorporated towns, and thus it is seen to have also had fourteen companies of infantry and one company of cavalry; and all organized, save those of Middleborough and Swansea, which were led by non-commissioned officers, or commissioned officers detailed from some other company. Several of these companies were too small to be entitled to three commissioned officers; and the Middleborough company, at the

* Lieut. John Freeman, of Eastham, was a son of Edmund Freeman, Esq., of Sandwich. Lieut. John Freeman and Mercy, daughter of Gov. Thomas Prince, were married in 1650. Lieut. Freeman was a Deputy, or Representative, from Eastham to the colonial court in 1653 and 1661, one of the council of war in 1658, and again while King Philip's war was progressing. Selectman of Eastham 10 years; also deacon of the church. He was governor's assistant in 1666-68, and 1674. He died in 1719. The following is from a letter he addressed to Gov. Josias Winslow:

“Taunton, 3d 4 mo 1675.

“This morning three of our men are slain close by one of our courts of guard, houses are burned in our sight; our men are picked off at every bush. The design of the enemy is not to face the army but to fall on us as they have advantage.”

When the local militia of Plymouth Colony were, in 1685, divided into three regiments, the Barnstable County regiment was placed under John Freeman, of Eastham, who, as commander of the same, was commissioned a major.—*Ply. Col. Records*.

† Cornet Robert Stetson emigrated to America from Yorkshire, England. He settled in Scituate. His sons were five in number, and christened as follows: Joseph, Benjamin, Thomas, Samuel and Robert.—*Barry's History of Hanover*.

date of its organization, that occurred soon after, was first led by only one commissioned officer, an ensign.

Massachusetts Colony had six regiments, named for the different counties.*

SUFFOLK REGIMENT.

(16 Companies.)

THOMAS CLARKE, of Boston, *Major Commandant*, commissioned Oct. 17, 1673. He was identical with the Thomas Clarke, commissioned captain Oct. 19, 1652, of the third company in Boston; and who, according to the military rules and regulations then in force, continued to be captain of that company after assuming command of the regiment.

BOSTON COMPANY.—James Oliver, *Captain*; Elisha Hutchinson, *Lieutenant*; Ephraim Turner, *Ensign*; last two commissioned May 12, 1675.

ROXBURY COMPANY.—Isaac Johnson,† *Captain*; Griffith Crafts, *Lieutenant*; John Bolles, *Ensign*; all commissioned Sept. 8, 1653. Capt. Johnson was slain in the great "Swamp Fight," in what is now Kingston, R. I., Dec. 19, 1675, and Joseph Dudley was commissioned captain of this company June 1, 1677.

DORCHESTER COMPANY.—Hopestill Foster, *Captain*; John Capen, *Lieutenant*.

WEYMOUTH COMPANY.—John Holbrook, *Lieutenant*.

HINGHAM COMPANY.—Joshua Hubbard, *Captain*.

DEDHAM COMPANY.—Daniel Fisher, *Captain*; William Avery, *Lieutenant*; Nathaniel Stearns, *Ensign*; all commissioned Oct. 15, 1673.

BRAINTREE COMPANY.—Richard Brackett, *Captain*; Edmund Quinsey, *Lieutenant*; Robert Twelues, *Ensign*.

* In 1636, when the local militia of Massachusetts was divided into three regiments, that colony had not been divided into counties. That division was made in 1643, when each regiment took the name of the county in which it was located.

† Capt. Isaac Johnson fell at the gate of the Indian fortification, as he was endeavoring to lead his command over the ditch, upon a large fallen tree that spanned the excavation.

MEDFIELD COMPANY.—George Barber, *Captain*; Henry Adams, *Lieutenant*.

BOSTON 2D COMPANY.*—Thomas Savage, *Captain*, commissioned Oct. 19, 1652; Benjamin Gillam, *Lieutenant*, commissioned Feb. 25, 1676.

BOSTON 3D COMPANY.—Thomas Clarke, *Captain*, commissioned Oct. 19, 1652; Thomas Lake, *Lieutenant*, commissioned Oct. 31, 1663; Daniel Turin, *Ensign*, commissioned June 1, 1677.

BOSTON 4TH COMPANY.—William Hudson,† *Captain*, commissioned about 1653; Nathaniel Reynolds, *Lieutenant*, commissioned May 12, 1675; Richard Woody, *Ensign*, commissioned Jan. 6, 1674.

BOSTON 5TH COMPANY.‡—Daniel Henchman, *Captain*; Hugh Drury, *Lieutenant*; John Wing, *Ensign*; all commissioned May 12, 1675.

BOSTON 6TH COMPANY.—John Richards, *Captain*; Matthew Barnard, *Lieutenant*; Anthony Checkley, *Ensign*; all commissioned May 12, 1675.

BOSTON 7TH COMPANY.—Thomas Clarke, Jr., *Captain*; Enoch Greenleaf, *Lieutenant*; Penn Townsend, *Ensign*; all commissioned May 12, 1675.

BOSTON 8TH COMPANY.—John Hull, *Captain*; Theophilus Frary,§ *Lieutenant*; Benjamin Thurston, *Ensign*; all commissioned May 12, 1675.

SUFFOLK COUNTY TROOP.—A cavalry company raised at large throughout the county. William Davis, *Captain*, commissioned Oct. 13, 1675; died soon after, and was succeeded by his lieutenant, Thomas Brattle, who was commissioned captain May 5, 1676; Jacob Elliot, *Lieutenant*, having been promoted from cornet; Timothy Dwight, *Cornet*; Thomas Swift, *Quarter Master*.

* From the earliest settlement of Boston, until 1652, the local militia of that place was embraced in one company, but in 1652 was divided into four companies.

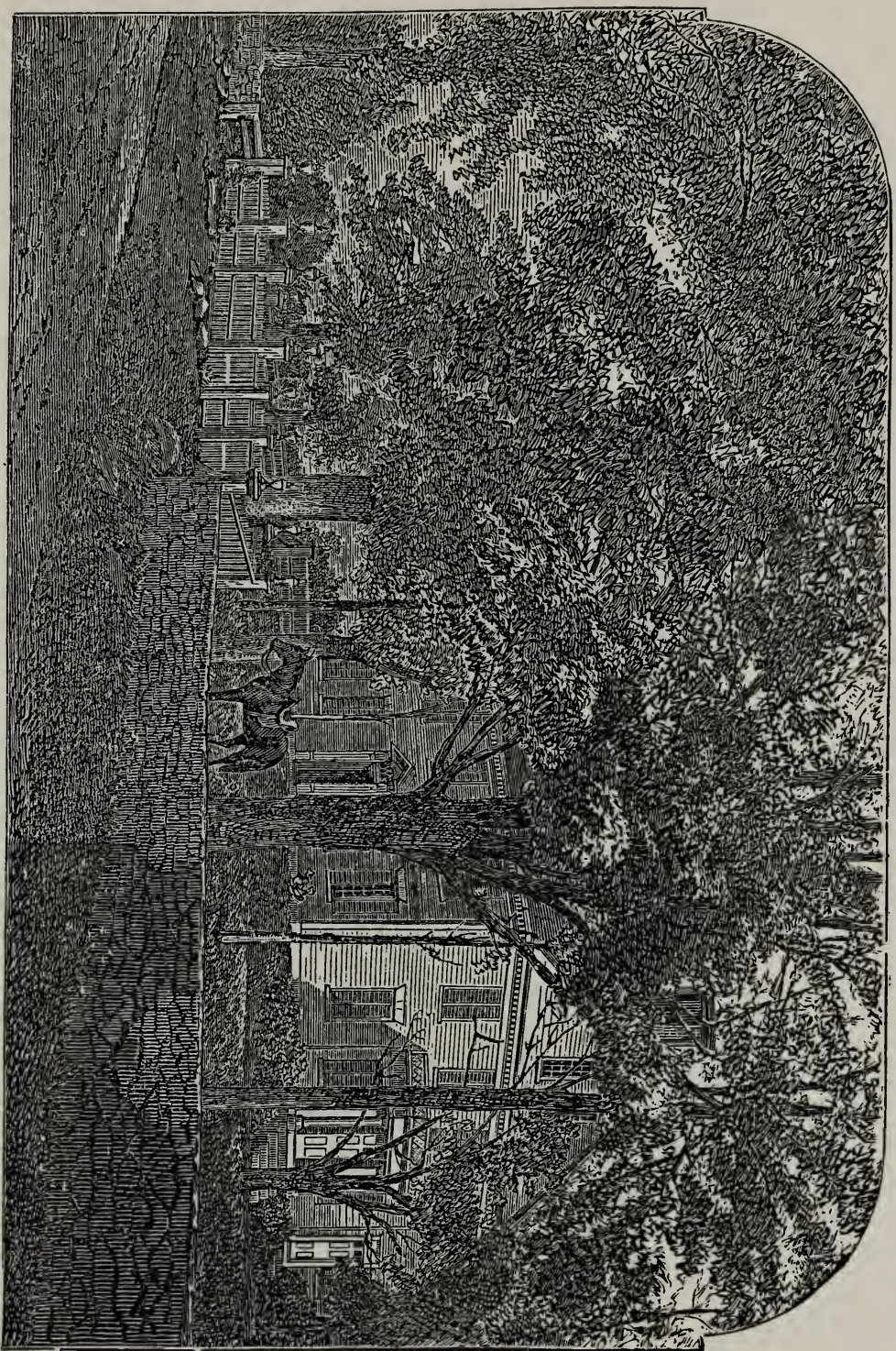
† He joined the A. & H. A. Co. in 1640. Was Lieutenant of the same in 1653, '56 and '60. Captain in 1661.

‡ In 1675, the four militia companies of Boston were divided into eight companies.

§ He joined the A. & H. A. Co. in 1666; was Ensign of the same in 1674, Lieutenant in 1675, and Captain in 1682.

Suffolk Regiment, as we have shown, at the commencement of "King Philip's War" consisted of fifteen companies of infantry, and one of cavalry; or, in the whole, sixteen companies. The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, at Boston, had then had an organized existence 37 years, but being almost entirely composed of officers and soldiers of other companies, it cannot properly be added to the military force of the colony, as this would be to enumerate some men twice. The officers of the A. & H. A. Co., elected on "Anniversary Day," the first Monday in June, 1675 (the month in which hostilities were begun by the Indians), were as follows: Thomas Savage, *Captain*; Theophilus Frary, *Lieutenant*; Thomas Thatcher, Jr., *Ensign*. Rev. Samuel Phillips preached the anniversary sermon; but neither a copy of the sermon, nor any record of the words he selected as his text, are preserved, at least to the knowledge of the author of this book. The A. & H. A. Co. was a school for officers as well as soldiers, and to belong to this did not free an officer or a soldier from military duty elsewhere.*

* The writer of this book was received as a member into the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, Sept. 14, 1852. He was at that time Lieutenant Colonel of the 3d Regiment of Light Infantry, Mass. Volunteer Militia, commission dated April 3, 1852. He was made a sergeant in that company on the first Monday in June, 1854; Nov. 7, 1855, he was promoted from Lieut. Col. of the 3d Reg. to the office of Brigadier General of the 2d Brigade, in 1st Division of the Mass. Vol. Militia; and on the first Monday in June, 1859, he was elected a Lieutenant of the A. & H. A. Co., Brig. Gen. Joseph Andrews, of Salem, being at the same time made Captain of this company. In September, 1859, the entire militia force of the State were mustered at the same time on a field at Concord, and to the A. & H. A. Co. was assigned the duty of escorting to and from that field the Mass. Senate and House of Representatives; whereupon, the governor detached Gen. Andrews and myself from duty with our brigades, and ordered us to appear in the capacity of commissioned officers of the A. & H. A. Co., which we did. I state this circumstance as it was, perhaps, the only case of this kind that ever occurred in the history of our militia, and may establish a precedent by which to determine with which force an officer of the local militia shall serve when he is a member, and an officer, also of the A. & H. A. Co., and both organizations are required to perform military duty at the same time.



BIRTHPLACE AND RESIDENCE OF EBENEZER W. PEIRCE, SOUTH MAIN STREET, ASSONET VILLAGE, FREETOWN, MASS.

(The place where this book was written.)

MIDDLESEX REGIMENT.

(16 Companies.)

DANIEL GOOKIN, of Cambridge, *Major Commandant*, commissioned May 5, 1676.

CHARLESTOWN COMPANY.—Lawrence Hammond, *Captain*; Joshua Ted, *Lieutenant*; John Cutler, *Ensign*; all commissioned October 12, 1669.

MEDFORD COMPANY.—Probably led by a non-commissioned officer.

WATERTOWN COMPANY.—Hugh Mason, *Captain*; Richard Beers, *Lieutenant*.

CAMBRIDGE COMPANY.—Daniel Gookin, *Captain*, commissioned about 1646; James Trowbridge, *Lieutenant*, commissioned Feb. 23, 1676, and he was succeeded in that office by Joseph Cook, June 1, 1677.

CONCORD COMPANY.—Simon Willard, *Captain*, commissioned May 6, 1646, and succeeded in that office by Peter Buckley, June 1, 1677; William Buss, *Ensign* till May 11, 1681, when he was promoted to *Lieutenant*.

SUDBURY COMPANY.—Edmund Goodnow, *Captain*, commissioned May 27, 1674; Josiah Heynes, *Lieutenant*, commissioned July 9, 1675. Office of ensign probably vacant.

WOBURN COMPANY.—John Carter, *Captain*; William Johnson, *Lieutenant*; James Convers, *Ensign*; all commissioned May 15, 1672.

READING COMPANY.—Jonathan Poole, *Captain*, commissioned June 1, 1677; John Damon, *Lieutenant*, commissioned October 17, 1676.

MALDEN COMPANY.—John Wayte, *Captain*, until March 18, 1685.

LANCASTER COMPANY.—Henry Kerly, *Lieutenant*, until Sept. 12, 1684, when he was transferred to the same position in the Marlborough Company.

CHELMSFORD COMPANY.—Thomas Henchman, *Lieutenant*; William Fletcher, *Ensign*, commissioned Oct. 12, 1670.

GROTON COMPANY.—James Parker, *Captain*; William Lakin, *Lieutenant*; Nathaniel Lawrence, *Ensign*; all commissioned Oct. 15, 1673.

BILLERICA COMPANY.—Jonathan Danforth, *Lieutenant*; James Kidder, *Ensign*; both commissioned Oct. 13, 1675.

MARLBOROUGH COMPANY.—A man named Kerly was Lieutenant of this company and died in commission. His brother, Henry Kerly, succeeded him as *Lieutenant*, Sept. 12, 1684.

DUNSTABLE COMPANY.—No commissioned officers at the commencement of "King Philip's War," so as far I have been able to learn.

CAVALRY COMPANY raised at large in the county; Thomas Prentice, of Cambridge, *Captain*.

ESSEX REGIMENT.

(14 Companies.)

DANIEL DENISON, of Ipswich, *Major Commandant*.

SALEM COMPANY.—Joseph Gardiner,* *Captain*, commissioned October 7, 1674. He was slain in battle in the great swamp fight, in what is now Kingston, R. I., December 19, 1675. John Price, *Lieutenant*; John Higginson, *Ensign*; both commissioned May 12, 1675. Lieut. Price was promoted to captain (vice Joseph Gardiner deceased), June 1, 1677, and John Higginson to lieutenant, vice Price promoted.

IPSWICH COMPANY.—Daniel Denison, *Captain*, commissioned March 9, 1637; Thomas Burnham, *Ensign*, commissioned May 12, 1675.

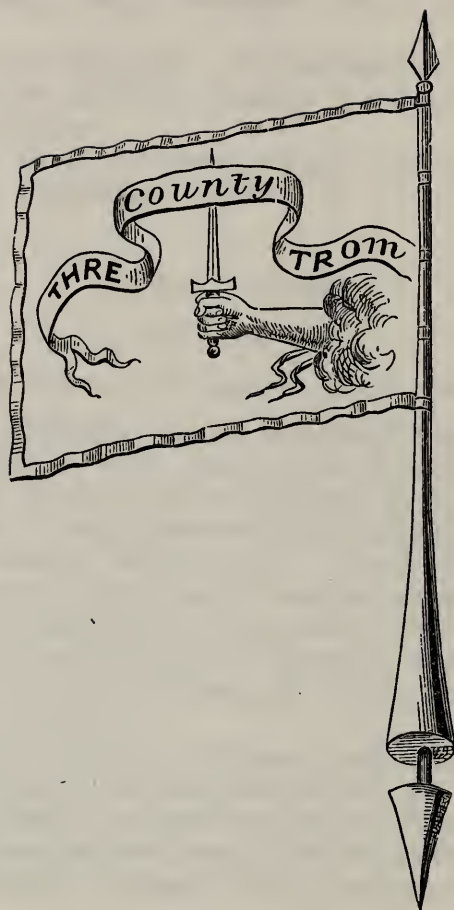
NEWBURY COMPANY.—William Gerrish, *Captain*; John Pike, *Lieutenant*; both commissioned May 23, 1651; Benjamin Sweat, *Ensign*, commissioned October 14, 1651. Daniel Pierce was commissioned captain October 7, 1678.

LYNN COMPANY (formerly called Saugus).—John Fuller, *Ensign*.

GLOUCESTER COMPANY.—No commissioned officers at that date, at least none that I could learn.

ROWLEY COMPANY.—Samuel Brocklebank, *Captain*;

* Captain Joseph Gardiner was a son of Thomas Gardiner, who came to America as early as 1624, and for a time resided at Cape Ann. Removed to Salem, from which he was a Deputy to the Colonial Court in 1637.



FLAG, STANDARD OR COLOR OF THE THREE-COUNTY TROOP.

(From a drawing thereof, made by a heraldic painter in Europe, who painted a flag, standard or color for that troop.)

Philip Nelson, *Lieutenant*; John Johnson, *Ensign*; all commissioned October 15, 1673.

WENHAM COMPANY.

MANCHESTER COMPANY.

ANDOVER COMPANY.—Dudley Bradstreet, *Captain*, commissioned June 1, 1677. Probably had previously been commanded by a Lieut. Osgood.

MARBLEHEAD COMPANY.—Francis Johnson, *Lieutenant*, commissioned June 2, 1653; Richard Norman, *Ensign*, commissioned Nov. 3, 1675. He was promoted to Lieutenant, June 11, 1680.

TOPSFIELD COMPANY.—Probably no officers had been commissioned at the date of the commencement of King Philip's War, but not far from that time John Gold was *Ensign*, and he was promoted to Lieutenant, March 30, 1683.

BEVERLY COMPANY.—Thomas Lothrop, *Captain*. He was slain by the Indians at Bloody Brook, so called, in Deerfield, Sept. 18, 1675.

SALEM 2nd COMPANY.—John Corwin, *Captain*, commissioned October 7, 1674; Richard Leach, *Lieutenant*; John Pickering, *Ensign*; both commissioned May 12, 1675. Bartholomew Gedney succeeded Pickering as *Ensign*, October 17, 1676.

CAVALRY COMPANY.—raised in the towns of Salem and Lynn. George Corwin, of Salem, *Captain*; Thomas Putnam, *Lieutenant*; Walter Price, *Cornet*; all commissioned Oct. 8, 1662.

At the date when King Philip's war commenced, there existed in Massachusetts Colony a cavalry company known as the "Three County Troop," which was raised at large probably in the counties of Suffolk, Middlesex and Essex. On the 27th of May, 1674, William Haisy was commissioned *Lieutenant* of this company, and Jonathan Poole, *Cornet*. Edward Hutchinson* was *Captain*, but he resigned, and on

* Capt. Edward Hutchinson was mortally wounded by the Indians at or near Brookfield, August 2, 1675.

the 7th of October received his discharge; it was by authority determined to delay for the present to fill the vacancy. From the manner in which this troop is referred to in the colonial records, I am led to think that it was not annexed to any regiment.

NORFOLK REGIMENT.*

(10 Companies.)

ROBERT PIKE, of Salisbury, *Major Commandant*, commissioned May 31, 1670.

PORTSMOUTH COMPANY.—Thomas Daniel, *Captain*, commissioned October 7, 1674; Walter Neale, *Lieutenant*, commissioned May 7, 1673; Samuel Keys, *Ensign*, commissioned October 7, 1674.

HAMPTON COMPANY.—John Sanborn, *Ensign*. He was commissioned *Lieutenant*, Oct. 15, 1679, and at the same date Sergeant Thomas Philbeck was promoted to *Ensign*.

SALISBURY COMPANY.—Thomas Bradbury, *Captain*.

DOVER COMPANY.

EXETER COMPANY.

HAVERHILL COMPANY.—Nathaniel Saltonstall, *Captain*; George Browne, *Lieutenant*; James Pecker, *Ensign*; the last two commissioned October 12, 1669.

AMESBURY COMPANY.

OYSTER RIVER (NOW Durham) COMPANY.

GREAT ISLAND COMPANY.—Richard Cutts, *Captain*; Elias Styleman, *Lieutenant*; Joakim Harvey, *Ensign*; all commissioned May 7, 1673.

CAVALRY COMPANY.—Raised at large in the regiment. Robert Pike, of Salisbury, *Captain*; William Vaughan, *Lieutenant*, who was commissioned October 18, 1672.

* The ancient County of Norfolk, Mass., embraced the most northerly towns of the present County of Essex, Massachusetts, together with a considerable portion of the southern part of what is now the State of New Hampshire. This County of Norfolk ceased to exist as such, Feb. 4, 1680. Suffolk County was divided and the towns set off incorporated as a new county, March 26, 1793, and called Norfolk.

YORK REGIMENT.*

(6 Companies.)

RICHARD WALDRON, of Dover, *Major Commandant*, commissioned October 7, 1674. He was killed by the Indians June 27, 1689, being 80 years old at the time of his death.

YORK COMPANY.

KITTELY COMPANY.—John Wincoll, *Captain*.

WELLS COMPANY.

SCARBOROUGH COMPANY.

BACK COVE (now Falmouth) COMPANY.—George Ingersoll,† *Lieutenant*.

CAVALRY COMPANY.—Raised at large in the regiment.

HAMPSHIRE REGIMENT.

(6 Companies.)

JOHN PYNCHON, of Springfield, *Major Commandant*, commissioned May 31, 1671.

SPRINGFIELD COMPANY.—Eleazer Holyoke, *Captain*; Thomas Cooper, *Lieutenant*, killed by the Indians Oct. 5, 1675; Benjamin Cooley, *Ensign*, commissioned May 27, 1668.

NORTHAMPTON COMPANY.—William Clarke, *Lieutenant*; David Wilton, *Ensign*; both commissioned October 8, 1662.

HADLEY COMPANY.—Samuel Smith, *Lieutenant Com-*

* The territorial limits of this Regiment are now embraced in the State of Maine, that continued to form a part of Massachusetts until 1820.

† Under the date of September 10, 1675, Lieutenant Ingersoll wrote a letter that was copied into the N. Eng. Historical and Genealogical Register, vol. viii. page 239, in which letter he said that on the morning of Sept. 9, 1675, "was heard three Gunes and was seen a great smoke up the River above Mr. Mackworth's whereupon I caused an alarm, but could not get the Souldiers together by reason of which I was incapable for that day to know the cause thereof and what the issue might be; but this day, being the 10th of the said month haueing strengthened my self, I went up with two fils and when I came to the place, I found an house burnt downe and six persons killed, and three of the same family could not be found. An old Man and Woman were halfe in and halfe out of the house neer halfe burnt Their own Son shot through the body and also his head dashed in pieces. This young man's Wife was dead and her head skined."

mandant till May 9, 1678, when Aaron Cook was commissioned *Captain*; Philip Smith, *Lieutenant*; Joseph Kellogg, *Ensign*.

WESTFIELD COMPANY.—Samuel Loomis, *Ensign*, commissioned May 27, 1674.

HATFIELD COMPANY.—Daniel Warner, *Ensign*, commissioned October 7, 1674.

CAVALRY COMPANY.—Raised at large in the regiment. John Pynchon, *Captain*, commissioned June 12, 1663; William Allis, *Lieutenant*; Joseph Whiting, *Cornet*, or color bearer; both commissioned October 18, 1672; George Colton, of Springfield, *Quarter Master*, commissioned at date to the writer unknown.

October 7, 1674, a portion of the territory then claimed by Massachusetts, but now within the limits of the State of Maine, was incorporated as a county, and called Devon. The county of Devon at that date appears to have had four companies of militia, over all of which Lieut. Thomas Gardiner, of Pemaquid, was placed in command, and the following named non-commissioned officers appointed with orders to drill and discipline the several companies.

SAGADAHOCK COMPANY.—Thomas Humphreys, *Sergeant*; James Middleton, *Corporal*.

DAMERILL COVE COMPANY.—John Russell, *Sergeant*, and he to choose his corporal.

MONHEGIN COMPANY.—John Dolling, *Sergeant*, and he to choose his corporal.

CAPENAWAGHEN COMPANY.—Robert Gamon, *Sergeant*, and he to choose his corporal.

Thus at the expense, perhaps, of the reader's patience, have we shown that, at the commencement of King Philip's war, the local militia of Plymouth Colony was divided into 15 companies, and that of Massachusetts Bay Colony into 73 companies—or, in the

whole, 88 companies; and most of these companies were completely organized, and put in regimental posture.

The writer of this book desires to draw the particular attention of the reader to the fact that the information required to enable him to present the foregoing roster of all the commissioned officers of the militia of Massachusetts Bay Colony, at the commencement of King Philip's war, has nearly all been gathered expressly for this publication, having never before been thus embodied and arranged upon paper, either in manuscript or in type; or, if it has been, such roster is now lost. These facts have been obtained from various sources, and this arrangement of the same is the result of protracted labor, diligent research and careful investigation. Where the dates of commissions have been given in full, the authority was found in official documents and records; and where the dates are omitted, the statements are based upon presumptive and concurrent evidence—such as convinced me that the facts really were as I have stated. But lest some one should be misled, let it be distinctly understood that, where the dates are wanting, it is *only my individual opinion* that the persons named were holding the positions described. No *Roster* of the local militia of Massachusetts can now be found among the official records at the State House, in Boston, dating back further than 1762, or 87 years later than the times we are now describing.

Having given the number of the companies into which the local militia of Plymouth and Massachusetts Colonies was divided at the commencement of King Philip's war, the several locations of these companies, and how arranged into regiments, we will now proceed to show how these forces were armed and equipped, drilled and disciplined.

One third of each company was supposed, or rather expected, to be armed with pikes, and the other two thirds with match-lock muskets. I do not say that one third were *required* to be armed with pikes, but rather *allowed* to be, as some pikemen were deemed essential and necessary, and the expense of this arm and its equipment being probably less than that of the musket. All able-bodied white male persons (with a very few exceptions), between the ages of 16 and 60 years, were held to the performance of military duty, and each was required to be armed and equipped at his own expense. A father in poor circumstances might thus, in addition to the expense of arming and equipping himself, be obliged to provide for the arming and equipping of several sons who were from 16 to 21 years of age; and this then very common circumstance was, perhaps, sought to be provided for, and its burthen partially relieved, by allowing so large a proportion of pike-men to each company.*

The only difference between the pike used at that time in England and that in use in her American colony of Massachusetts Bay was that the handle, or staff, of an English pike was 16 feet in length, and the American only 14 feet. In 1666, the colonial court of Massachusetts enacted:

Whereas the law, title Military, sect. 7, requires every pikeman to be, compleatly furnished, amongst other weapons, with a sufficient corslet, this Court, considering that corslets are wanting to many souldiers in seuerall companies, & the supplies therein are not easily to be attnyed,

It is therefore now ordered, & by the authority of this Court enacted that every pikeman within this juris-

* The pikemen formed one flank of a company, and covered one-third of its front. They were usually formed in ranks to correspond with the musketeers of the same company.

diction shall be compleatly furnished either with a sufficient corslet, buffe coate or quilted coate, such as shall be allowed by the chiefe officer vnder whose comānd they shall from time to time serve, vpon the penalty in the recited lawe.—*Mass. Col. Rec.*, vol. iv.

Pikemen were required to be also provided each with a sword and a knapsack, then called a "snapsack."

In the book of tactics* then in use, and under the title of "The Postures of the Pike," the manual of arms was as follows: 1. Handle. 2. Raise. 3. Charge. 4. Order. 5. Advance. 6. Shoulder. 7. Port. 8. Comport. 9. Check. 10. Trail. 11. Lay down Pikes.

The musket of two hundred years ago was very different from the weapon of that name now in use, being much heavier, the barrel a great deal longer, and the lock of a pattern more ancient than the *flint* lock that has now been superseded by the *percussion*. Bayonets had not at that date come into use, and when these were first introduced† they were so constructed as to cover the muzzle of the gun; so that, if the bayonets were "fixed," it was safe to conclude that no firing could be executed until they had "unfixed bayonet."

So cumbrous was the stock, and such the length of the barrel of a musket, that a "rest" was required to enable the soldier to take a steady aim. The rest used was a forked stick shod with iron that it might be stuck in the ground, the better to enable it to stand upright, and, for convenience while firing, the rest was attached by a string to the soldier's left wrist.

Powder was poured into the pan of the gun, and

* Elton's Tactics, new and improved edition, with a supplement.

† Col. Benjamin Pollard, commander of the Boston Cadets (Governor's body-guard), introduced the use of bayonets among the local militia of Massachusetts, and that company were the first who used that weapon in America. It was invented in France.

this powder or priming was touched off with a lighted match, and hence the name match-lock. Guns for hunting game were then in use that were let off by a flint striking fire that fell into the powder or priming held in the pan; these were not denominated muskets, but, taking a name from the snap or spring, came to be called a "snaphance." Both English and Indians used the snaphance when hunting game, but the militia law of the land did not allow a snaphance used in war, for that would not answer the requirements of that law, which demanded a *match-lock musket*. Indians were more practical, their law being that of reason and common sense; hence their snaphances, purchased of the white people with which to hunt wild beasts, were used with terrible effect against the English in King Philip's war.

Like the pikeman, so did the heavy musketeer have a snapsack; but the cartridge-box had not then come into use, and "bandoleers" were used instead. These consisted of a leather belt, two inches wide, that passed over the soldier's right shoulder and under his left arm, and to which belt were attached twelve wooden or copper cylindrical boxes each containing one charge of powder for a musket.* To the same belt was also hung a "primer" containing the priming powder, a "priming wire," a bag containing bullets, and the "match." The match was much like that now called slow-match, used in blasting rocks. Each soldier to be fully equipped was required to have six feet of the match.

That the soldier might be prepared for close action, hand-to-hand fight (as there could be no charging of bayonet), he was required to have a sword, which in

* John Smith, of Freetown, recently returned from the Black Hills, bringing the equipments of an Indian slain by one of the party with which Smith travelled; and among these equipments was a belt, to which the ammunition was attached, on the principle of the bandoleers of two hundred years ago.

this country came to be superseded in a great degree by a hatchet or tomahawk.

Elton's tactics had for several years been in use, and were so popular that a new edition with a supplement was issued in 1668, or about seven years before the breaking out of King Philip's war, and doubtless were in use then. Elton's tactics appeared under the title of "The Compleat Body of the art Military." Here are the orders, or words of command, therein laid down for the practice of the manual of arms (i. e. for such as used the musket).

1. Stand to your arms.
2. Take up your bandoleers.
3. Put on your bandoleers.
4. Take up your match.
5. Place your match.
6. Take up your rest.
7. Put the string of your rest about your left wrist.
8. Take up your musket.
9. Rest your musket.
10. Poise your musket.
11. Shoulder your musket.
12. Unshoulder your musket and poise.
13. Join your rest to the outside of your musket.
14. Open your pan.
15. Clear your pan.
16. Prime your pan.
17. Shut your pan.
18. Cast off your loose corns.
19. Blow off your loose corns and bring about your musket to the left side.
20. Trail your rest.
21. Balance your musket in your left hand.
22. Find out your charge.
23. Open your charge.
24. Charge with powder.
25. Draw forth your scouring stick.
26. Turn and shorten him to an inch.
27. Charge with bullet.
28. Put your scouring stick into your musket.
29. Ram home your charge.
30. Withdraw your scouring stick.
31. Turn and shorten him to a handfull.
32. Return your scouring stick.
33. Bring forward your musket and rest.
34. Join your rest to the outside of your musket.
35. Draw forth your match.
36. Blow your coal.
37. Cock your match.
38. Fit your match.
39. Guard your pan.
40. Blow the ashes from your coal.
41. Open your pan.
42. Present upon your rest.
43. Give fire breast high.
44. Dismount your musket joining the rest to the outside of the musket.
45. Uncock and return your match.
46. Clear your pan.
47. Shut your pan.
48. Poise your musket.
49. Rest your musket.
50. Take your

musket off the rest and set the butt end to the ground. 51. Lay down your musket. 52. Lay down your match. 53. Take your rest into your right hand clearing the string from your left wrist. 54. Lay down your rest. 55. Take off your bandoleers. 56. Lay down your bandoleers.

In 1671, the Colonial Court of Massachusetts ordered as follows :

The Court considering that the regiments are multiplied from three to sixe since the lawe was made requiring the serjant majors* of euery regiment to drawe forth his regiment once in three yeares to exercise them in millitary discipline, doe order that henceforth the regimentall meetings shall be in this following order ; i. e., Suffolke, this present yeare, 1671 ; Norfolke, including the county of Portsmouth & Douer, 1672 ; Midlesex, anno 1673 ; Yorkshire, anno 1674 ; Essex, anno 1675 ; Hampshire, 1676 ; & so to be continued in this order successively, time to time ; & the majors of Norfolke, Yorkshire & Hampshire are allowed towards their expenses & entertainment occasioned by that service, tenn pounds a peece respectively for the time of that service, to be paid by their respective County Tresurers.

And it is also ordered that henceforth the allowance of twenty pounds a peece granted formerly to the majors of the three old regiments shall be paid by the Tresurers respectively for such their service, any thing contrary heerevnto conteyned in the millitary lawe, sect. 2, notwithstanding.—*Mass. Col. Rec.*, vol. iv. p. 486.

Company trainings were required some eight times each year.

Let us now return to the consideration of events connected with the commencement of hostilities. On the 23d of June, 1675, or fifteen days after the exe-

* The commander of a regiment, in the local militia of Massachusetts or Plymouth Colony at that date, was denominated a Sergeant Major.

cution of the Indians for the murder of Sassamon, an Englishman was shot at Swansea, and his wife and son scalped; and the next day, 6 or 7 more were killed at Swansea,* of whom one was killed when returning from religious services held expressly on account of the threatening aspect of affairs, and two who were going for a surgeon to dress the wounds of those not killed outright, were killed on their way. Town after town fell before the Indian warriors; for when the English forces marched in one direction, the savages were burning and laying waste in another. Runners were sent to Boston and Plymouth for assistance. At Boston, drums beat up for volunteers, and, in three hours' time, 110 men were thus raised to take the field, under command of Capt. Samuel Mosely.† This band was accompanied by several dogs, with which they proposed hunting down the Indians.‡

Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies, by prompt, energetic and united efforts, endeavored to stay the awful ravages of this terrible storm, now suddenly burst forth upon the inhabitants of Swansea, and daily and hourly extending to other adjacent and adjoining English settlements, till it covered all New England, and became the most bloody and disastrous conflict that section of country ever experienced.

On Tuesday, June 15, 1675, Benjamin Church, of Little Compton, arrived in Plymouth to communicate the results of his visit to Awashouks, the squaw sachem of the Sogkonate Indians. When on his way to Plymouth, Church was met by Petonowowett, the Indian

* Hubbard's History says, "On the 24th of June, 1675, was the alarm of war first sounded in Plymouth Colony, when eight or nine of the English were slain in and about Swansea."

† He was admitted to membership in the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in 1672. Had no office in that company.

‡ Hunting Indians with blood-hounds was proposed and perhaps practised in the Florida war, about 40 years since; it was not countenanced or encouraged by our people generally.

who married Weetamoo, the widow of Wamsutta. Petonowowett informed Capt. Church, as related in the last chapter, of Philip's intention to allow his young men to commit outrages on the next Sunday. That next Sunday occurred on the 20th of June, and is the same date with the plundering of the houses of the English, that has found a prominent place in history. On that day, seven or eight of King Philip's Indians went to the house of an inhabitant of Swansea to grind a hatchet, which was objected to on the part of the man of the house, who told the Indians that it was the Sabbath, and God would be very angry if he permitted them to grind the hatchet that day; to which the Indians are said to have returned answer that they knew not who his God was, and that they would grind the hatchet for all him or his God either. These Indians immediately after met an Englishman travelling on the highway, and told him to do no work on his God's day, and that he should tell no lies; with which injunction they suffered him quietly to pass on.

On Thursday, the 24th of June, 1675, besides firing upon a party of English people* who were returning from religious worship, killing one of their number, wounding two others, and then slaying two who were sent for a surgeon, the Indians killed two men that went out of a garrison house situated in another part of Swansea, who were going out to obtain a bucket of water, and these last named the Indians scalped, and cut off their fingers and feet.

The volunteers from Boston left that place on the 26th of June, and arrived at the principal seat of war in Swansea, a little before night, June 28, 1675. The first to arrive among the Plymouth Colony troops

* Bliss's History of Rehoboth says that the name of one of the men slain at Swansea was Jones, and I regret that I am not able to give the names of all the slain.

were seventeen mounted men, from Bridgewater, well armed, who left their homes on the 21st of June, arriving at a garrison house at Mettapoiset (now Gardiner's Neck), in Swansea, the next day, or six days earlier than the troops from Boston. These Bridgewater troops were quartered at the house of a man named Bourne, where were also collected seventy of the English people, viz., sixteen men, and fifty-four women and children, whom they defended till reinforced, when the house was abandoned, and the non-combatants for greater safety transported to the island of Rhode Island. By far the larger part of the Plymouth Colony forces, before proceeding to Swansea, were assembled at Taunton;* from whence they proceeded to the seat of warlike operations, arriving there a little in advance of the troops from Boston. Besides Captain Mosely and his company of one hundred and ten volunteers, the Colony of Massachusetts sent immediately into the field one company of infantry under Capt. Henchman, and a company of cavalry under Capt. Thomas Prentice.† Capt. James Cudworth, of Scituate, probably from the fact that his commission antedated that of any other officer in the Plymouth Colony forces, was made to command all those forces then in the field; and on arriving at Swansea, the seniority of his commission also made him out-rank all officers of the Massachusetts forces there assembled; and hence he was, for the time being, commander-in-

* Church's History says that the governor of Plymouth Colony "gave orders to the captains of the towns to march the greatest part of their companies, and to rendezvous at Taunton on Monday night, where Maj. Bradford was to receive them, and dispose of them under Capt. Cudworth, of Scituate."

June 27, 1675, the Indians slew John Tisdale, at Taunton, and burned his dwelling.

† Capt. Thomas Prentice died in 1709, aged 89. He must therefore have been born in or about the year 1620. His residence was in what is now Newton, where he was buried, and his grave is still pointed out. His death was said to have been occasioned by a fall from a horse.

chief of the combined forces of the colonies of Massachusetts and Plymouth, thus hastily assembled and sent to the field. The inaction of the Plymouth Colony forces at Swansea, during the short period intervening between their arrival and their reinforcement from Boston, so encouraged the Indians, that they seemed to lurk almost every where, shooting at all passengers, and killing many who ventured abroad. The house of Rev. John Myles, a Baptist clergyman, stood near the bridge, in what has since been called Barneyville, and from which circumstance, probably, it came to be called "Myles's bridge." That house was strengthened so as to resist attack, and garrisoned; and here were assembled the Plymouth Colony forces, under Cudworth, who made it his headquarters, and where he was joined by the Massachusetts troops.*

So flushed were the Indians with their success that, in the language of Capt. Church, "they shot down two sentinels under the very noses of the soldiers occupying Myles Garrison." But the Bostonians had no sooner arrived, than the inactivity which had characterized that camp gave place to a forward movement, in compliance with a request of some of Capt. Prentice's men, who desired to go out and seek the enemy in his own quarters. Accordingly, a body of cavalymen, under command of Quartermasters Gill and Belcher, and accompanied by Benjamin Church, moved forward; but they were no sooner over Myles's bridge, than they were fired upon from an ambuscade, and the pilot mortally wounded. Belcher's horse was shot under him, and both himself and Gill were wounded, but neither mortally. So terrified, as well as surprised, were the troopers at this their first taste of actual warfare, that they became panic-stricken, wheeled their horses, and fled in disor-

* There was also another house in Swansea fortified and garrisoned.

der, regardless alike of the threats and entreaties of their officers; and but for Benj. Church, the wounded man would have been left in the hands of the enemy.*

June 29, 1675, the Indians appeared boldly in view of the English, and by their shouts and yells seemed to challenge them to come out and fight. Capt. Mosely, at the head of his company of volunteers, rushed furiously upon the Indians, who fled to their coverts, where, making a stand for a moment and being fired upon, again fled. Mosely pursued about a mile, killing five or six Indians, with no loss on his own part save that his ensign, Mr. Savage, received a ball that lodged in his thigh, while another passed through the brim of his hat. Some authorities state that Ensign Savage was by mistake fired at and wounded by one of his own company. A dense swamp into which the Indians had fled, checked further pursuit. The English now traversed Mount Hope Neck, and found King Philip's wigwam, but himself and followers had fled. At Keekamuit, the soldiers found the heads of eight of the English, slain by the Indians, set upon poles. These heads they took down and buried.

July 1, 1675, Lieut. Oakes and a party of men, who had been to Rehoboth and were returning to Swansea, discovered a company of Indians, and killed two of the sub-chiefs of King Philip and at least one other Indian; for, as a proof of their prowess, they sent three Indian scalps to Boston.† Thebe was the

* Church's History informs us that the pilot, though wounded, sat on his horse, so mazed with the shot as not to have sense to guide him; and that he fainted and fell from his horse before Church, Gill and another who went to the rescue, came to him. They brought him off dead. His name was William Hammond, probably a resident of Swansea, or some town near, as he was the pilot, and of course selected because of his familiarity with and correct knowledge of the ground.

† The early historians of New England were for the most part clergymen, who were continually indulging in expressions of holy horror at the barbarous practices of the savage Indians, and yet their own "christian soldiers," as evidences of their pious zeal, were sending to Boston, to be placed on exhibition, the bloody scalps of those they had slain.

name of one of the sub-chiefs then and there slain. He was sometimes called Peebe by the English, and was one of the witnesses to the quit-claim deed given by King Philip, March 30, 1668, to lands lying on both sides of Palmer's river. Peebe or Thebe was one of the counsellors of King Philip.*

About this time a reinforcement from Massachusetts Colony arrived at Swansea. This consisted of 120 men, half of whom were mounted, and were under the command of Major Thomas Savage.† Major Savage and his command made a forced march, travelling both night and day, his infantry upon horses impressed for the occasion—their provisions being transported in six carts. The combined forces of the Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies, with the reinforcements above noticed, made an "on to Richmond" movement from Myles's garrison, in Swansea, but on coming to where King Philip and his forces were supposed to be, he

* Hubbard, in his History, informs us that on the 30th of June, 1675. "Capt. Prentice's troop, for conveniency of quarters as also for discovery was dismissed to lodge at Seaconcke or Rehoboth, a town within six miles of Swansea. As they returned in the morning, Capt. Prentice divided his troop, delivering one half to Lieut. Oakes, and keeping the other himself; who, as they rode along, espied a company of Indians burning an house; but could not pursue them by reason of several fences that they could not go over till the Indians had escaped into a swamp. Those with Lieut. Oakes had a like discovery but with better success as to the advantage of the ground, so as pursuing them upon a plain they slew four or five of them in the chase, whereof one was known to be Thebe, a sachem of Mount Hope, another of them was a chief counsellor of Philip's; yet in this attempt the Lieutenant lost one of his company, John Druce by name, who was mortally wounded in his bowels whereof he soon after died."

† Major Thomas Savage was one of the original members of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, at the time of its formation in 1638. He was a lieutenant of that company in 1641, and again in 1645; and captain in 1651, 1659, 1668, 1675 and 1680. His five sons were members of that company, and one or more of these were commissioned therein. All the local militia of the town of Boston, from its first settlement to 1652, remained as one company; but at that date it was divided into four companies. Thomas Savage was commissioned captain of the second of these companies Oct. 19, 1652, and retained that office about 28 years. He was succeeded by his son Ephraim Savage, who was commissioned captain March 17, 1681.

was found to have fled, as already noticed, and this movement was undoubtedly made in concert with that of Capt. Mosely, before described. Some authorities state that the Indians had one thousand acres of corn growing at or adjacent to Mount Hope, when they left that part of the country to the English.

NOTE.—Among other incidents in the history of the commencement of hostilities at Swansea, it is related that the Indians captured two sons of Sergeant Hugh Cole, and carried them to the Indian camp, whereupon King Philip ordered no harm should be done to them, and sent an Indian guard to shield the boys from danger till they should arrive home; for, as said the noble and generous hearted chief, "their father sometime showed me kindness." King Philip also sent word to Serg. Hugh Cole, advising him to remove his family from Swansea, lest it should be out of his power to prevent the Indians from doing them injury. Cole took King Philip's advice, and carried his family over to the island of Rhode Island, and before they were out of sight of their home the Indians had set the house on fire.

King Philip would suffer his warriors to do Mr. James Brown, of Swansea, no harm, because, as he said, his father (Massasoit), in his life time, had charged him to show kindness to Mr. Brown.

It was while performing this movement that the English soldiers at Kickamuit (what came to be Warren) found the heads of eight Englishmen set upon poles, that Capt. Benjamin Church informs us was "after the barbarous manner of savages;" and as King Philip's head was soon after stuck on a pole at Plymouth, and that of Weetamoo in like manner at Taunton, we may justly add that it was also after the manner of barbarous christians. These eight heads, Capt. Church informs us, were those of persons slain at the head of Mettapoiset Neck (now Gardiner's Neck), in Swansea, and doubtless were identical with those before noticed.

Church further informs us that Philip and his warriors, with their wives and their children, bag and baggage, had gone—made a good and successful retreat, and taken all their canoes along with them. This led him to conclude they had gone over to the Pocasset side (now Tiverton) to engage the warriors of Weetamoo to join with them, and thus it proved to be. King Philip had outwitted his pursuers and got off with little or no loss of his men, in thus “making a change of base,” gained a more defensive position, and added to the number of his forces—in fact had out-flanked his foes, and was then prepared to deal death and destruction to those who thought themselves safe in the rear of the English army; and the frontier town of Swansea was at that moment the safest locality in the whole colony of New Plymouth.*

Church very justly adds: “The enemy were not really beaten out of Mount Hope Neck, though it was true they fled from thence; yet it was before any pursued them. It was only to strengthen themselves and to gain a more advantageous post. . . . However, some, and not a few, pleased themselves with the fancy of a mighty conquest. . . . A grand council was held, and a resolve passed to build a fort there to maintain the first ground they had gained by the Indians leaving it to them, and to speak the truth it must be said that as they gained not that field by their sword nor by their bow, so it was rather their fear than their courage that obliged them to set up the marks of their conquest.” He has further told us that he “looked upon” this act of their remaining and the building of a fort, “and talked of it with contempt, and urged hard the pursuing of the enemy on Pocasset

* Up to that time, the ability displayed by King Philip was so much greater than that shown by the English commander, that no proper comparison can be instituted between them.

side, and with the greater earnestness, because of his promise made to Awashouks," squaw sachem of Sogkonate (now Little Compton); and we may add because King Philip had now invaded the domains of the squaw sachem, Weetamoo, who in vain had sought to prevent her subjects from participating in his warlike acts, and thus would both these Indian queens, whose domains were contiguous, from the force of circumstances, be compelled to add their warriors to those of that chieftain. The promise that Church had made to Awashouks, squaw sachem of Sogkonate, was at a dance to which she had invited him, and that he attended, on the 14th of June, where and when she had consented to place herself and her people under the protection of the Plymouth Colony government, upon Church's promise to repair immediately to Plymouth, there have a conference with the governor, set forth to him her desire, and effect the union of her forces with those of the Plymouth Colony. But by the delay in the lying still of the army "to cover the people from nobody while they were building the fort for nothing," the opportunities of uniting with Awashouks, or preventing a union between King Philip and Weetamoo, were lost.

Mr. Constant Southworth now resigned his place of chief commissary, and that post was assigned to Benjamin Church, who "still urged the commanding officers to move over to Pocasset side to pursue the enemy and kill Philip, which would, in his opinion, be more probable to keep possession of the Neck than to tarry there to build a fort. Capt. Fuller of the Plymouth Colony forces urged the same, the result of which was that he received orders to take six files and cross over to Pocasset in hope to get an opportunity to treat with Sogkonate or Pocasset Indians. Mr. Church was ordered to make one of the little company of Capt.

Fuller, but the former said that the enterprise was hazardous enough for them to have more men.*

The men were selected and taken over† to Rhode Island that night, remaining there till the next night, then taken over to Pocasset and placed in two ambuscades. They would probably have succeeded in taking some prisoners, but some of Fuller's men, in striking fire to smoke tobacco, by the noise probably made by the clinking of the flint and steel,‡ thus discovered themselves to a party of Indians on the point of entering their trap, but just in time however to take warning and flee.

They then divided the company, a part remaining under the guidance of Capt. Fuller, and the remainder under the direction of Church, and both parties set off in opposite ways in search of Indians. Fuller and his party had a skirmish with the Indians, resulting in wounding two Englishmen. They were so hard pressed by the Indians as to be forced to take refuge in a deserted house, and from thence succeeded in getting on board a vessel. Church and his followers proceeded in their search, and arrived at John Almey's peas-field in what is now Tiverton, about half a mile above Fogland ferry, where they encountered a force so large that for a time it appeared that the English must be destroyed, and but for the timely arrival of Roger

* A file must have been six men, as Church, a little further on in his narrative, says they had 36 men.

Thirty-six men were too many to have uselessly slain, and by far too few to effect any good results in the face of the united forces of King Philip, Weetamoo and Awashouks, and no means provided for the sending of a reinforcement. It was only by good luck, mere chance, that Fuller or Church and their men were saved from total destruction.

† They probably crossed at what is now known as Bristol Ferry.

‡ Before the introduction of lucifer matches, the usual method of striking fire was with a flint and piece of steel—the spark of fire falling upon a burnt rag called “tinder.” The flint, steel and burnt rag used to be carried in a small box familiarly known as a “tinder box.” Tinder boxes were frequently made from the butt of an ox horn, and were very common in country residences forty years ago.

Goulding with his vessel and the succor he thus afforded, doubtless they would have been. Goulding* succeeded in getting Church and his men on board the sloop, and tookt hem all out of the way of harm.

This occurred on the 8th of July, 1675. The Indians were so well supplied with English arms and ammunition that they filled the sail and stern of Goulding's sloop full of bullet holes, while he was in the act of taking off Church and his men.

This did not look much like securing to the interest of the English, the followers of Weetamoo or Awashouks, who, now that Philip and his warriors were in their midst, would generally follow the natural tide of their inclination, by taking sides with their own countrymen; and in these small engagements last described, a portion of them had probably done so.

Not so, however, with all; for Church, who, in his capacity of a commissary, soon after visited Rhode Island, met an Indian called Alderman, who came over from a place then known as Squaw Sachem's Cape, in Pocasset, and brought his family. This Indian freely communicated to Church the number and whereabouts of the Indians. He had deserted from the present camping place of Weetamoo, and offered to pilot the English forces to it; which facts Church lost no time in communicating to the commander of the forces at Swansea.

The Indian deserter had assured Church that, at the time of his leaving, Weetamoo's camp contained few if any of King Philip's or Awashouk's men, and hence it was deemed a stroke of good policy to fall upon Weetamoo in the absence of these, and thus destroy all three in detail. Church says that this determination

* He was identical with the Maj. Goulding, who a few years later commanded a regiment in the local militia of Rhode Island. He owned a large tract of land in what is now Freetown, Mass.

caused "all the ablest soldiers" of the English army, encamped at Swansea, to be "immediately drawn off, equipped and dispatched upon this design under the command of *a certain officer*." Having marched about two miles viz. until they came to the cove that is southwest from the Mount, orders were given for a halt; the commander-in-chief told them he thought it proper to take advice before he went any further; called Mr. Church and the pilot, and asked them how they knew that Philip and all his men were not by that time returned to her again, with many more frightful questions. "Mr. Church told them they had acquainted him with as much as they knew, and that for his part they could discover nothing that need to discourage them from proceeding; that he thought it so practicable that he, with the pilot, would willingly lead the way to the spot and hazard the brunt. But the chief commander insisted on this, that the enemy's numbers were so great, and he did not know what numbers more might be added to them by that time, and his company so small, that he could not think it practicable to attack them. He added, moreover, that if he was sure of killing all the enemy and knew that he must lose the life of one of his men in the action, he would not attempt it."

Now either Church greatly exaggerated the truth in these statements, or the English soldiers had a most unsuitable man for a commanding officer, and there is no wonder that Church did not give the name or furnish us the means to learn who that "certain officer" really was. It should be borne in mind that nearly forty years elapsed between the date of this occurrence, and that of the preparing and publishing Church's history of King Philip's War, and which he assured his readers was done "with as little reflection upon any person as might be, either alive or dead."

That "certain officer" marched his men back to the garrison house and fort they had commenced to build—the scene of their inglorious delay and unreasonable inaction, where, for the present, let us leave them, while we contemplate stirring events in the neighboring colony of Massachusetts.

July 14, 1675, the Indians made an attack on the people of Mendon, a township incorporated May 15, 1667, and which lies within the limits of the territory incorporated April 2, 1731, as the County of Worcester. Such was the destruction dealt by the Indians at Mendon, that the place was deserted by its English inhabitants, who did not return to rebuild the waste places until 1680, or five years after it was burned by the Indians and four or five of the inhabitants slain. The name of one of the slain was Richard Post. His residence was on what has since been called "Post's Lane," and it is claimed that he was the first man killed in King Philip's war within the bounds of the colony of Massachusetts.*

The Indian name of Mendon was Quinshepage, and was also denominated the plantation of "Nipmug." It was originally 8 miles square. The Indian deed bore date of April 22, 1662, and was signed by Anawassanauk alias John Quashaamait alias William of Blew Hills, Great John, Namsconont alias Peter, and Upannbohqueen alias Jacob of Natick. Portions of Mendon were set off to Bellingham, Milford, Northbridge, Upton and Uxbridge. On the 12th of May, 1670, Mendon was attached to the County of Middlesex, and 61 years later to the County of Worcester.

But to return to the consideration of Swansea, and

* The town of Dedham makes the same claim. The Dedham man was found dead in the woods. He had been shot through the body, which act was charged upon the Indians. One Indian was arrested on suspicion of killing the man, but probably could not be convicted, as there the matter seems to have dropped.

what was going on there, for since that "certain officer" marched his men up a hill and then marched them down again, reinforcements have been sent to swell the numbers assembled at what Church quaintly calls the "loosing fort," and a sloop has been obtained to transport soldiers, on board of which a detachment was placed, and sent to the Falls River, or Quequechan (now the city of Fall River), where they disembarked and commenced their march into Weetamoo's country, Church and a man named Baxter and an Indian called Hunter acting as shirmishers in front of the main body. They had proceeded about a quarter of a mile* when they discovered three Indians, on whom Hunter fired, wounding one in the knee, which enabled them to overtake him, when Hunter despatched him with his hatchet.†

Proceeding on, they were discovered by the Indians just before reaching Weetamoo's camp on the edge of a cedar swamp, into which the Indians betook themselves, and the English soldiers as swiftly pursued till they came within hearing of the cries of the Indian women and children, when the officer in command of the English ordered them to cease the effort to overtake the fugitives, and retrace their steps toward the Falls River, when these just pursued in turn became pursuers, and chased the English back to the sloop, wounding two of their men. The next day those of this ill-starred expedition got back to the Mount Hope garrison. Soon after, another force was sent out, but

* The spot where this occurred must have been within the limits of that tract of country detached from the town of Tiverton, about eighteen years since, and annexed to the city of Fall River.

† Church's History says:—"Hunter wounded one of them in his knee, whom when he (Hunter) came up he discovered to be his near kinsman; the captive desired favour for his squaw if she should fall into their hands but asked none for himself excepting the liberty of taking a whiff of tobacco, and while he was taking his whiff his kinsman with one blow of his hatchet dispatched him."

this time after Philip, who, with his warriors, like Weetamoo and her followers, retired to the dark recesses of a dismal swamp. But now instead of retiring as before, the English fortified themselves on the edge of the swamp, there to remain and starve King Philip out. But he, being supplied with provisions, remained there till he had constructed a sufficient number of canoes to carry his command over the water, when under cover of night, he and they, undiscovered by the English soldiers, came out of the swamp, took to the water, crossed over unharmed, and passed on to the Nipmuck country, sustaining no loss from the soldiers stationed on either side of Taunton river, and none at all save that inflicted upon him by the home guard of Rehoboth, headed by the Rev. Noah Newman,* their minister, and aided by a few friendly Indians.

The Rev. William Hubbard, of Ipswich, an early historian, remarked that "Mr. Newman, the minister of Rehoboth, deserved not a little commendation for exciting his neighbors and friends to pursue thus after Philip, animating of them by his own example and presence." King Philip, after leaving Mount Hope, and with his forces going over to Pocasset (now Tiverton), and for some time being unpursued, as we have already shown, by the English, had ample time and opportunity to lay completely waste all Dartmouth (now Dartmouth, New Bedford, Westport, Fairhaven and Acushnet), as he did, and slew many of the inhabitants. (We shall have occasion to refer to this again.)

He had now gone to the Nipmuck country to form a junction with the Nipmuck Indians. That country then embraced what is now the southerly part of Worcester

* Rev. Noah Newman was a son of the Rev. Samuel Newman. Rev. Noah Newman was ordained at Rehoboth in March, 1668. He preached there till his death, April 16, 1678.

county and a part of Connecticut, and we shall now see what speedily occurred as a result of his going there.

The governor and council of Massachusetts had sent Capt. Edward Hutchinson of Boston, to Brookfield to treat with the Nipmuck Indians in the hope of securing a peace with them. Capt. Thomas Wheeler, of Concord, with about 20 mounted men as an escort, accompanied Capt. Hutchinson on his mission, and arrived at Brookfield on Sunday, August 1, 1675. A meeting with the Indians was agreed upon to take place at 8 o'clock Monday morning, Aug. 2, 1675, upon a plain at the head of Wickaboag pond, two or three miles west of the principal settlement in Brookfield. Captains Hutchinson and Wheeler, and their men, together with John Ayers, John Coye and Joseph Prichard, of Brookfield, repaired to the spot designated, at the time appointed, but no Indians were there, and so they rode on four or five miles toward the chief settlement of the Nipmucks, and were in a narrow passage between a steep hill and a thick swamp, where they were attacked by a large number of Indians (some authorities say three hundred), when John Ayers, John Coye and Joseph Prichard of Brookfield, Zachariah Philips of Boston, Timothy Farley of Billerica, Edward Colburn of Chelmsford, Samuel Smedley of Concord, and Sydrach Hapgood of Sudbury, were slain; and Captain Edward Hutchinson, of Boston, mortally wounded. Capt. Wheeler and the rest of his men, taking a by-path, escaped to Brookfield followed by the Indians. This alarmed the inhabitants of Brookfield, who took refuge in a house on an eminence, from whence they watched the Indians as they burned almost every barn and out-house, and nearly every dwelling house save that in which the English were assembled; which was then attacked, and for two days the Indians were occupied in vain attempts to set it on fire. At length, on the evening

of August 4th, the Indians filled a cart with hemp and other combustible matter, set it on fire, and endeavored to push it against the house, but were defeated in their design, partly by a sudden shower of rain, and partly by the arrival of a party of English soldiers led by Maj. Willard and Capt. Parker. The Indians were thus foiled in the attempt to burn that house and slaughter the inmates, but they destroyed all the horses and cattle they could find, and then withdrew unpursued by the English. (Whitney's History of Worcester County.)

Rev. Dr. Fisk, of Brookfield, in a historic sermon* delivered Dec. 31, 1775, thus particularizes:—"When the Indians pursued the party into the town, they set fire to all the buildings except a few in the neighborhood of the house in which the inhabitants had taken shelter; that they endeavored to intercept five or six men who had gone to a neighboring house to secure some things there, but they all got safe to the place of refuge, except a young man, Samuel Prichard, who was stopped short by a fatal bullet; that the house in which they were besieged was unfortified except by a few logs hastily tumbled up on the outside after the alarm, and by a few feather beds hung up on the inside. . . . And though the siege continued from Monday in the forenoon, until early on Thursday morning, August 5th, in which time innumerable balls entered the house, only one man, Henry Young, who was in the chamber, was killed.

"The Indians shot many fire arrows to burn the house, but without effect. When the troop which re-

* This information was contained in a marginal note. Rev. Nathan Fisk, to whom we are indebted for the transmission of the knowledge of these facts, was ordained at Brookfield in 1758; succeeded by Rev. Micah Stowe in 1801. Near the south-west end of Wickaboag Pond stood a fortified house called "Mark's garrison," and there was another in town called "Gilbert's Fort."

“lieved Brookfield got into the town, which was late at night, they were joined by great numbers of cattle, which had collected together in their fright at the conflagration of the buildings, and the firing and war-whoops of the Indians; and for protection these poor animals followed the troop till they arrived at the besieged house. The Indians deceived thereby, and thinking there was a much larger number of horsemen than there really was, immediately set fire to the barn belonging to the besieged house, and to Joseph Pritchard’s house and barn, and the meeting-house, which were the only buildings left unburnt, and went off. A garrison was maintained at this house till winter, when the court ordered the people away, soon after which the Indians came and burnt this house also.”

The writer of this book visited Brookfield August 27, 1871, when the plain where the proposed conference was to have been held with the Indians was pointed out to him, as also the Wickaboag Pond; but the scene was almost entirely changed from that of one hundred and ninety-six years before. True, the pond occupied the site it did then, and the soil of the plain was yet there, but all else, how completely changed! I suppose that I passed over the identical ground on which it was proposed to meet and make a new treaty with the Indians, and regret that I was not privileged to have pointed out to me, with equal exactness, that where the ambuscade occurred.

On the ninety-fifth page of this book allusion was made to the fact that, while King Philip and his warriors were at Pocasset and unpursued by the English, just after the former had abandoned Mount Hope and the country called Pokanoket, ample time and opportunity were afforded these Indians to lay waste all Dartmouth, which then embraced what is now Dart-

mouth, New Bedford, Fairhaven, Westport and Acushnet. I also expressed a determination to make another and more extended reference to that matter.

Within what was the original limits of Dartmouth, two or more houses were fortified and garrisoned, and besides these probably not another house in the whole township escaped destruction by the Indians. One of these fortified houses stood near the head of Aponeganset River, and was called Russell's garrison. The cellar of that house remained until within the memory of some still living, and other marks to show its site are even now discernible. Another garrison was maintained on the east side of Acushnet River, a short distance from what is called the Isle of Marsh.

October 14, 1675, the Colonial Court at Plymouth enacted :

This Court, taking into their serious consideration the tremendous dispensations of God towards the people of Dartmouth in suffering the barbarous heathen to spoil and destroy most of their habitations, the enemy being greatly advantaged thereunto by their scattered way of living, do therefore order that in the rebuilding and resettling thereof that they so order it as to live compact together, at least in each Village, as they may be in a capacity both to defend themselves from the assault of an enemy, and the better to attend the public worship of God and ministry of the word of God, whose carelessness* to ob-

* The Colonial Court had before taken action concerning the misconduct of the people of Dartmouth, and by that action thus referred to "carelessness to obtain and attend unto the public worship of God and ministry of the word." &c. :

"June 5th 1671. In reference vnto the towne of Dartmouth, it is ordered by the Court ;

"That whereas a neglect the last yeare of the gathering in of the sume of fifteen pounds, according to order of Court to be kept in stock towards the support of such as may dispenche the word of God vnto them it is againe ordered by this Court, that the sume of fifteen pound be this yeare lenied to be as a stock for the vse aforesaid to be deliuered vnto Arther Hatheway and Sarjeant Shaw to be by them improued as oppertunity may p'sent for the ends aforesaid."

This failed to be obeyed, and hence the court repeated the order July 1, 1672.

tain and attend unto we fear may have been a provocation to God thus to chastise their contempt of his gospel, which we earnestly desire the people of that place may seriously consider of, lay to heart and be humbled for, with a solicitous endeavour after a reformation thereof, by a vigorous putting forth to obtain an able faithful dispenser of the word of God amongst them, and to encourage him therein, the neglect whereof this Court as they must and God willing they will not permit for the future.

These "tremendous dispensations," as nearly as I can learn, occurred at Dartmouth in June, 1675, and probably during the time that intervened between King Philip's leaving Mount Hope and going over to Pocasset, until he was pursued by the English army quartered at Swansea.

Jacob Mitchell and wife and John Pope were among the slain at Dartmouth. Mitchell was identical with the Jacob Mitchell commissioned ensign of Dartmouth Militia March 4, 1674. (See page 65 of this book.)

Plymouth Colony Records, vol. v. page 205, state that an Indian named "John Num owned that hee was of that companie that murdered Jacob Mitchell and his wife and John Pope."

Middleborough (what is now Middleborough and Lakeville) was abandoned* by its English inhabitants at about the same date that Dartmouth was destroyed. Freetown had not yet been incorporated, but was purchased of the Indians April 2, 1659, or more than sixteen years earlier than the breaking out of King Philip's war. It was then known as the "Freemen's Land at Taunton River," and had been to a considerable

* On the occasion of the bi-centennial celebration at Middleborough, in October, 1869, the writer of this book was shown a port hole in an ancient house standing in the Four Corners Village, which house was once owned and occupied by Abner Barrows, Jr.; but I cannot believe this was used in King Philip's war, as Middleborough was then abandoned by its English inhabitants, and houses burned by the Indians.

extent settled by the English ; but, like the pioneers of Dartmouth and Middleborough, so were those at Freetown forced to flee.* At Middleborough a house was fortified, and a garrison for a time maintained, but ultimately all probably fled to Plymouth. What is now Freetown† and Berkley, so far as I can learn, made no effort to maintain the ground, but fled *en masse* to Taunton. A man named Babbett, of that part of Taunton now Berkley, was slain.

To be a little more minute and particular concerning the details of King Philip's operations in the Pocasset swamp briefly noticed on the 95th page of this book, I will now add that Drake's excellent "Book of the Indians" states that it was on the 18th of July, 1675, and the number of English pursuers was sufficient to nearly encompass the swamp, and the fate of King Philip was now thought sealed. A few Indian warriors showed themselves on the edge of the swamp, upon whom the English soldiers rushed with ardor, the Indians meanwhile retreating ; and by this feint the English were drawn far into an ambuscade, fired upon, and about fifteen of their number slain. The density of the foliage, together with the lateness of the hour in the day when the battle began, rendered the swamp so dark that the English could scarcely distinguish friend from foe ; and, as said an ancient writer,

* William Makepeace, of Boston, purchased land in what is now Freetown, and settled on his purchase in or about 1661. He was drowned in Taunton River, in August, 1681. In that part of Freetown now Fall River, Matthew Boomer had settled in or before 1675. A man named Layton was also there, and one of that name slain there in June, 1675.

† Tradition says that Jacob Hathaway, formerly of Freetown, was born in the garrison house in Taunton where his parents had taken refuge in King Philip's war. He was commissioned ensign in or about 1715. Was selectman at Freetown twenty-five years ; assessor, sixteen years. Son of John Hathaway, Jr., of Freetown, and grandson of John Hathaway, of that part of Taunton now Berkley. Jacob Hathaway finally became a Quaker.

"whereby tis verily feared that the English themselves did sometimes unhappily shoot Englishmen instead of Indians."

That King Philip's forces there assembled were numerous is rendered reasonably certain from the fact that a hundred wigwams, newly constructed of green bark, were found near the edge of the Pocasset swamp. The English captured an aged Indian, who informed them that King Philip was in the swamp and conducting the battle in person. An anonymous writer at that time stated that King Philip lost a brother who was slain in this fight. I shall have occasion to allude to this statement again, when arriving at the genealogical part of this work.

It is quite safe to conclude that the loss on the part of the Indians was small, and probably less than that sustained by the English. That Pocasset swamp, says Mr. Drake, "was upon a piece of country which projected into Taunton River, and was nearly seven miles in extent. . . . After being guarded here 13 days, which in the end was greatly to his advantage and afforded him time to provide canoes in which to make his escape, he passed the river with most of his men, and made good his retreat." (See Appendix.)

While King Philip and his warriors were in the swamp at Pocasset, the English received a reinforcement sent to them by the Indian chief Uncas, and consisting of about fifty Mohegan Indians, led by Oneko.* This body of friendly Indians arrived at Boston on or about the 26th of July, 1675. A few Natick Indians were added to this company, and the whole sent to Plymouth, being conducted thither by a company

* Oneko was the oldest son of Uncas, and his immediate successor as chief of the Mohegans. Father and son were opposed to the christian religion.

of cavalry under command of Quartermaster Swift.* The governor of Plymouth Colony ordered these Indian allies to repair to Rehoboth, where they arrived the night before King Philip crossed Seekonk Plain *en route* for the Nipmuck country, and where he sustained an attack from the Rehoboth home-guards led by Rev. Noah Newman, referred to on page 95 of this book. In that fight, Oneko with his Mohegan and Natick Indians assisted the Rev. Noah Newman and his home-guards. King Philip did not lose many men in this Rehoboth battle, yet he sustained a severe injury in the death of his great captain and counsellor, Woonashum alias Nimrod. The Rev. Noah Newman, in a letter describing the event, said that "14 of the enemy's principal men were slain." (See Appendix.)

Early in September some 9 or 10 persons were slain by the Indians in the woods of Northfield,† Mass., and some escaped to a garrisoned house. The day after this took place, and while it was yet unknown at Hadley, Capt. Beers,‡ with 36 mounted infantry, were sent by Major Robert Treat to convey provisions to the garrisoned house in Northfield. Capt. Beers's route was through the present towns of Sunderland and Montague, and the tract called Erving's Grant, then a continued forest through which was an imperfect road, a distance of nearly 30 miles, and though continually

* At that date, the cavalry company attached to the Suffolk County Regiment was officered as follows: John Leverett, *Captain*; William Davis, *Lieutenant*; both commissioned October 19, 1652; Thomas Brattle, *Cornet*, commissioned May 31, 1670. October 13, 1675, were commissioned: William Davis, *Captain*; Thomas Brattle, *Lieutenant*; Jacob Elliot, *Cornet*; John Smith, *Quartermaster*. May 5, 1676, was commissioned Thomas Swift, *Quartermaster*.

† Northfield was incorporated as a town Feb. 22, 1713. The Indian name was Squakeag.

‡ Drake, in his *Book of the Indians*, 4th edition, page 27, says this was Richard Beers, of Watertown; and if so, is identical with the lieutenant of the company of local militia of that town immediately preceding King Philip's war. (See roster of commissioned officers in Middlesex Regiment, page 69 of this book.)

exposed to attacks, he passed several difficult places without seeing an Indian. At a distance of about two miles from the garrison house in Northfield, the route lay over a deep swampy ravine, through which ran a brook emptying into the Connecticut river. Capt. Beers had caused his men to dismount, so difficult was the passage for the soldiers and accompanying baggage. The approach of Beers being discovered by the Indians, they formed an ambuscade consisting of a large body, and lay waiting to attack him both in front and flank, and quite a portion of the English fell at their first fire. Capt. Beers with his remaining men fell back to a hill about three fourths of a mile, where, for some time, they bravely maintained the ground against the overwhelming force of the Indians, till Beers was slain and the survivors, save one,* made good their escape.

Two days later, Major Robert Treat, with one hundred men, arrived on the ground where Capt. Beers was defeated, when the bodies of some of the slain were found to have been beheaded and the heads elevated on poles, and one corpse was suspended to the limb of a tree by a chain hooked into the under jaw, the scene being heart chilling, soul sickening, and appalling.

Major Treat proceeded to the garrison house at Northfield, found its inmates unharmed, but brought off these with all other English inhabitants of the town. The Indians soon after destroyed all the houses and almost or quite everything valuable. The place where Capt. Beers fell is a sandy knoll on the west

* Robert Pepper, one of Capt. Beers's men, was taken captive by the Indians. A cart containing ammunition, as well as carts containing provisions, fell into the hands of the Indians while the battle was going on, and thus, while the Englishmen's ammunition was giving out, that of the Indians was increased. Probably all the English baggage, being transported to Northfield, was loaded on carts—vehicles of two wheels each. Waggon's did not come into general use until many years later.

side of the road, and is called Beers Mountain. The bones of the slain in this action were a few years since found bleaching in the sun on "Beers Plain," where the battle began. For this account I am mainly indebted to Barber's Historical Collections of Mass., pages 266 and 267.

September 18, 1675. Capt. Thomas Lothrop,* of Beverly, and his company, were escorting a train of teams loaded with wheat that was being conveyed from what is now Deerfield† to Hadley. They had proceeded about three miles through a level and closely wooded country, and prepared at any moment for an attack on either side, but received none, nor could they get trace of the presence of any Indians.

They had arrived at a place called "Muddy Brook," where their road crossed a small stream bordered by a morass, thickly covered with brush, affording an admirable position for an ambuscade, and where the Indians, on discovering that Lothrop had commenced his march, had preceded him and were, to the number of seven hundred warriors, lying in ambush, awaiting his approach.

Lothrop omitted to scour the woods, bushes and coverts by sending forward skirmishers on his front before attempting to cross the stream and morass, being probably thrown off his guard from the fact of having before discovered no trace of Indians, and he appears to have had no suspicion of the fatal snare until, with the principal part of his force, he was over and had halted to allow the teams time to drag through

* Of the first company in Salem, Thomas Lothrop was commissioned lieutenant May 6, 1646. Salem was divided, and a part set off and incorporated as a new and distinct town, under the name of Beverly. October 14, 1668. Lothrop's residence was probably in that part of Salem that then became Beverly.

† Incorporated as a town, and called Deerfield, May 24, 1682. Indian name, Pancomtock.

their loads, when they were surprised* by a sudden heavy and terribly destructive fire that the Indians poured upon them, succeeded by confusion and dismay on the part of the English. Capt. Lothrop fell in the commencement of the action; the English soon broke, scattered and endeavored to flee, closely followed by the Indians, and the former were nearly annihilated, only seven or eight escaping from the bloody scene to relate the dismal tale, the wounded being indiscriminately butchered. The English loss in this engagement, including teamsters, amounted to eighty-four.†

Capt. Moseley, who with his company were between four and five miles distant, hearing the report of the musketry, hastened to the relief of Lothrop, but it was too late, as he found the Indians stripping the dead. Moseley, with his men in close order, rushed into the midst of the Indians. Lieutenants Savage and Pickering distinguished themselves in this action. Capt. Moseley lost two men killed and eleven wounded, and after fighting from eleven o'clock until almost night, he was obliged to retreat. Just then Major Robert Treat, of Connecticut (who had marched that morning toward Northfield, but like Moseley was attracted to this spot), arrived with a force of one hundred fighting men, composed of English, and Pequot and Mohegan Indians, who, with Moseley, made the final onslaught upon the Indian enemy. Ninety-six Indians fell in this bloody encounter.

Captain Lothrop and about 30 of his men were buried in one grave, the spot being now marked by a

* One early authority says that some of Lothrop's soldiers had lain down their arms, and were engaged in gathering grapes, when first fired upon by the Indians. That the affair was conducted badly we have good proof, without the addition of this unmilitary act.

† Different authorities disagree as to the whole number slain on the part of the English, some making it ninety. It is hard to determine which is correct.

slab of stone lying on the ground. It is just in front of the door yard of a house recently occupied by Stephen Whitney.

The grave of the 96 Indians slain is about one hundred rods west of the road leading to Conway, and a little more than half a mile from the grave of Lothrop and a part of his men.

In 1838 a marble monument* was completed to commemorate this event. It stands on the ground where these tragic scenes transpired. The corner-stone was laid in the presence of some six thousand persons on the 160th anniversary of the battle. The writer of this book visited the spot Oct. 13, 1853.

At the commencement of Indian hostilities in 1675, a large brick house, that was erected at Springfield by Major John Pynchon in or about 1660, was used as a fort, and there were other houses in that town which were also fortified.

The Springfield Indians too had a fort not far distant, and into that fort on the night of October 3d or 4th, 1675, three hundred of the Wamponoags were received and concealed by the Springfield Indians, and

* At the laying of the corner stone of this monument, Major General Epaphras Hoyt, of Deerfield (Author of "Hoyt's Indian Wars"), made the address. An oration was delivered by Edward Everett, then governor of Massachusetts. The inscription on the monument is as follows:

"On this ground Capt. Thomas Lothrop and eighty-four men under his command, including eighteen teamsters from Deerfield conveying stores from that town to Hadley, were ambuscaded by about 700 Indians, and the Captain and seventy-six men slain, Sept. 18th, 1675 (old style). The soldiers who fell are described by a contemporary historian as "a choice company of young men; the very flower of the County of Essex, none of whom were ashamed to speak with the enemy in the gate."

"And Sanguinetto tells you where the dead
Made the earth wet, and turn'd the unwilling waters red."

"This monument erected August, 1838."

An artist has endeavored, in a large oil painting, to reproduce the scenes of the battle at "Muddy Brook." This painting, when the writer of this book visited that locality, was to be seen in the hotel at South Deerfield.

Toto, a Winsor Indian, informed the Springfield people that a plot had been laid by the natives to burn their town and massacre the inhabitants. Toto did not communicate this intelligence directly, but told it to another Winsor Indian, and an express was sent to warn Springfield people of their danger.

In the Indian fort, the Wampanoags lay still and concealed till the morning of the 5th of October, 1675, when Lieut. Thomas Cooper and Thomas Miller, who, as scouts were endeavoring to explore the Indian fort and settlement, were fired upon and killed, and an assault upon Springfield by the Indians immediately made, resulting in the slaying of one man and one woman, and the destruction by fire of thirty dwelling houses, twenty five barns, several mills, the house of correction and county jail.

Major Pynchon and Captain Appleton were at Hadley, and hastened to the relief of Springfield, but the Indians had done their work and retired with the plunder before their arrival. An Indian woman, captured soon after, said that the Indians lodged about six miles from Springfield the night after burning that town, and some men who went out found the smouldering remains of 24 camp fires and some abandoned plunder. The Indian woman said the natives were about 600 strong, but that only about 270 were engaged in destroying Springfield.

October 19, 1675, between seven and eight hundred Indians approached the outparts of Hatfield,* Mass., having cut off several parties who were out scouring the woods in that vicinity. Flushed with several recent victories, the Indians made a rapid attack upon that

* Hatfield was incorporated as a town May 11, 1670. Formerly a part of Hadley, Hatfield was the residence of Brigadier General Isaac Maltby, author of a work entitled "Elements of War," also of "Maltby on Courts Martial."

English settlement, and by their numbers were enabled to push the battle at several points in the village at one and the same time.*

Fortunately for the inhabitants of Hatfield, Captains Moseley and Poole† with their companies were then in the village, and Captain Samuel Appleton, of Ipswich, with his company, was just arriving, and no time was lost in assigning to Capt. Poole the defence of one extremity of the village while Moseley protected the centre and Capt. Appleton the remaining flank. The contest was very severe, but the Indians were promptly met and repulsed at every point. The Indians succeeded in setting fire to and burning several buildings, and in the dusk of the evening drew off, taking with them quite a number of cattle and sheep. Captain Samuel Appleton had a narrow escape, a ball passing through the hair of his head. His sergeant, Freegrace Norton, standing by his side, was mortally wounded.

We have already had occasion to refer to the participation of Major Robert Treat, of Connecticut, in the sanguinary acts that characterized and formed a part of the details in what is now known as King Philip's war. To a better, more ready and thorough understanding of the subject, it becomes necessary, before we go further, briefly to notice the fact that the colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut entered into articles of agreement and formed a confederation for the purpose of prosecuting offensive and defensive operations against the Indians. By order of the Commissioners of these united colonies, one thousand men were raised for that service, and divided into

* One of the scouting parties, cut off by the Indians when approaching Hatfield, consisted of Thomas Mekins, Nathaniel Collins, Richard Stone, Samuel Clarke, John Pocock, Thomas Warner, Abraham Quiddington, William Olverton and John Petts. These were all slain.

† He was identical with the Jonathan Poole commissioned captain of the local militia in Reading, June 1, 1677.

fourteen companies. Of these, Massachusetts furnished seven companies; Connecticut, five companies; and Plymouth Colony, two companies. Major Samuel Appleton, of Ipswich, was appointed to the command of the Massachusetts troops thus raised; Major Robert Treat, those of Connecticut; and Major William Bradford, those of the colony of New Plymouth; and Josias Winslow, of the colony last named, appointed general-in-chief to lead these allies in the field.

The writer of this book had hoped to become enabled to present herein an account of the organization of the local militia of Connecticut with the same minuteness and detail which characterized the rosters of the militia of the colonies of Massachusetts Bay and New Plymouth; but by an examination of the colonial records of Connecticut, I find that these lack much of the information that I had expected therein; nor is this deficiency to be supplied by reference to Trumbull's or Barber's histories. Whether the local militia of Connecticut were ever put in regimental posture prior to the commencement of King Philip's war, the writer has yet to learn; nor has he discovered any means by which to acquire such information. That Major John Mason exercised a general supervision over all the militia of Connecticut, prior to 1673, seems probable, if not indeed proved, by the public records of that colony; but, on the 7th of August in that year, the colonial court appointed three officers, each with the rank and commission of a major, to command the local militia, limiting each major in the extent of his military authority to the county in which he resided. These majors were as follows: For Hartford county, Maj. John Talcott; for New Haven county, Maj. Robert Treat; for Fairfield county, Maj. Nathan Gold.

About the same date, it was also by law provided that, at a general training or muster of all the compa-

nies of any one county, the company of the shire town of that county should out-rank or take precedence of all other companies of that county, unless one of the companies thus out-ranked should be designated as the major's company.

Several counties raised companies of cavalry, and thus we find upon the public records of Connecticut Colony that New Haven and New London counties each had a company of troopers, of which the commissioned officers were as follows: New Haven county troop—William Rosewell, *Captain*; Thomas Trowbridge, *Lieutenant*; both commissioned May 13, 1675. New London county troop—Benjamin Brewster, *Lieutenant*; Daniel Mason, *Quartermaster*; both commissioned October 9, 1673. Doubtless this company also had a captain and a lieutenant whose names and dates of commission I have not learned. Perhaps, too, each of these cavalry companies, or troops of horse as then called, had a commissioned officer denominated a cornet, whose duty it was to carry the colors of his company. A hundred years later, viz. at the commencement of the war of the Revolution, quite a portion of the local militia of Connecticut was armed, equipped and organized as cavalry.

Whether Connecticut, patterning after Massachusetts and Plymouth, regulated the number of commissioned officers to a company by the numerical strength of that company, I do not know, but am led to believe that it did. Each incorporated town in Connecticut Colony, doubtless, had an organized company of militia. Names of commissioned officers of those companies, so far as reported on the colonial records, are here given:

HARTFORD COMPANY.—John Allyn, *Captain*, commissioned Oct. 9, 1673; Thomas Watts, *Lieutenant*; Nathaniel Standley, *Ensign*; both commissioned May 13, 1675.

NEW HAVEN COMPANY.—John Nash, *Captain*; Thomas

Mason, *Lieutenant*; both commissioned May 11, 1665; Thomas Miles, *Ensign*, commissioned Oct. 9, 1673.

NEW LONDON COMPANY.—Waitstill Winthrop,* *Captain*; James Avery, *Lieutenant*; Gabriel Harris, *Ensign*; all commissioned May 11, 1665.

MILFORD COMPANY.—Robert Treat, *Captain*, commissioned May 11, 1665; William Fowler, *Lieutenant*, commissioned May 10, 1666.

NORWICH COMPANY.—John Mason, *Lieutenant*; Thomas Leffingwell, *Ensign*; both commissioned June 26, 1672.

STRATFORD COMPANY.—William Curtis, *Captain*; Joseph Judson, *Lieutenant*; Stephen Burrett, *Ensign*; all commissioned June 26, 1672.

FARMINGTON COMPANY.—William Lewis, *Captain*; Samuel Steele, *Lieutenant*; John Standley, *Ensign*; all commissioned Oct. 8, 1674.

NORWALK COMPANY.—John Olmstead, *Ensign*, commissioned May 14, 1674.

WETHERSFIELD COMPANY.—Samuel Wells, *Captain*, commissioned May 12, 1670; John Chester, *Lieutenant*, commissioned May 9, 1672.

STONINGTON COMPANY.—Samuel Mason, *Lieutenant*, commissioned May 12, 1672.

STAMFORD COMPANY.—Jonathan Sellick, *Captain*, commissioned July 9, 1675.

SAYBROOK COMPANY.—William Pratt, *Lieutenant*; William Waller, *Ensign*; both commissioned Oct. 3, 1661.

RYE COMPANY.—Joseph Horten, *Lieutenant*, commissioned May 10, 1666.

GUILFORD COMPANY.—John Graves, *Ensign*, commissioned Oct. 10, 1667.

LYME COMPANY.—William Waller, *Lieutenant*, commissioned Oct. 12, 1671.

WALLINGFORD COMPANY.—Nathaniel Merriman, *Lieutenant*, commissioned May 9, 1672.

* He was a son of Gov. John Winthrop of Connecticut, and grandson of Gov. John Winthrop of Massachusetts. Captain Waitstill Winthrop joined the A. & H. A. Co. at Boston, in 1692, and on the first Monday of June in that year was made captain of said company. April 20, 1689, he was commissioned a major general in the local militia of Massachusetts. He was a member of the governor's council, and chief-justice of the superior court of Massachusetts. He died in 1717, aged 76.

The reader will please observe that the writer does not pretend to assert that the companies he has just enumerated were all that had an organized existence in the local militia of Connecticut up to the commencement of King Philip's war, but rather that these are all concerning which he has been able to gather official information from the published records of that colony.

The colony of Rhode Island did not place its local militia in a regimental posture until about or a little after the close of King Philip's war, and then for a time all were embodied in one regiment of which the highest officer was a major, the law of the colony requiring an election for that office every year. Before long, the militia of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations were divided into two regiments, that part of the forces residing upon the island of Rhode Island constituting one regiment, which to distinguish it from the regiment on the main land was called the "Island Regiment." In this connection it should be borne in mind that, at the times we are describing and for quite a number of years afterward, Rhode Island government did not embrace the present towns of Bristol, Warren, Pawtucket, Tiverton and Little Compton. All these were then in Massachusetts, as also a part or the whole of Cumberland and Barrenton. The term "main land," therefore, did not apply to the towns just enumerated, which, though now in Rhode Island, were then in the colony of Massachusetts Bay. In August, 1676, the following officers then holding commissions in the militia of the colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations were detailed to sit at a court-martial held in Newport. Whether these were all the officers of that colony, then in military commission, I have not found sufficient information to determine, but I am inclined to believe there were at least a few others:

Captains.—Peleg Sanford, Roger Williams, Sam-

uel Wilbore, John Albro, Edmund Calverly, John Foanes. *Lieutenants*.—Edward Richmond, John Green, William Correy, Latham Clarke, Francis Gisborn, Ireh Bull. *Ensigns*.—Weston Clarke, James Barker, Caleb Arnold, Hugh Mosher, John Potter.

The force of one thousand men that it was proposed by the united colonies of New Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut, to raise for field service against the Indians, finally came to consist of about fifteen hundred warriors, and it was resolved that the war should be aggressive, and that no part of this force, or at least of the first thousand men, should be employed in garrisons or duties strictly defensive, the policy being to carry the war into the enemy's country. The apportionment was as follows:—Plymouth Colony to furnish two companies of infantry; Massachusetts Bay Colony to furnish six companies of infantry and one company of cavalry; Connecticut Colony to furnish five companies of infantry. These, when combined, made an active military force of fourteen companies which were to act in concert, and in a body to be hurled upon the Indian enemy. This was much the largest military force that had at that date been brought to act in concert in New England, and well might the Indians put forth their most powerful, most extensive, best planned, as well as most thoroughly united and best executed effort to withstand the terrible shock of the impending battle; and they were prompt and energetic in endeavoring to do so.

The roster of commissioned officers of these forces, as organized for field service, was as follows:

GENERAL OFFICER.

JOSIAS WINSLOW* of Marshfield, *General-in-Chief*.

* Gen. Josias Winslow was a son of Gov. Edward Winslow, the third governor of Plymouth Colony, by his second wife Susanna (widow of

STAFF OFFICER.

BENJAMIN CHURCH of Sogkonate, now Little Compton, *Aid.*

(The term "Aid de camp" did not come into use among the militia of New England until after the French and Indian War. Church said he rode in the general's guard, but from the description of his services performed, he was in fact an Aid.)

PLYMOUTH COLONY BATTALION

(as in fact it was, though perhaps recognized as a Regiment).

WILLIAM BRADFORD,* of Plymouth, *Major Commandant*, and according to the military tactics of that date, also recognized as captain of the first company.

William White). Among the Plymouth settlers, she was the mother of the first white child born in the colony, first widow and first bride, and by her second marriage became mother to the first native born governor. Josias Winslow was born in 1629; he located in what became Marshfield; was commissioned ensign in the local militia of Marshfield, June 7, 1648; promoted to captain June 8, 1655, and at that date his half brother Peregrine White, the first child born of English parents in the colony, was commissioned lieutenant of the Marshfield militia, and Mark Eames ensign. In 1657, Josias Winslow was united in marriage with Penelope, a daughter of Herbert Pelham, Esq., of Boston. In 1658, Josias Winslow was promoted to major commandant of the regiment that embraced all the local militia of Plymouth Colony; he was governor of that colony from 1673 to his death in 1680. The commissioners of the united colonies considered Gov. Winslow the most suitable person to command the united forces of those colonies in the field, and thus he became commander-in-chief at the Great Swamp Fight, Dec. 19, 1675. His wife died Dec. 7, 1703. Gen. Josias Winslow and wife Penelope Pelham had a son Isaac Winslow, born in 1670; married, July 11, 1700, Sarah, a daughter of John Hensley, and a lineal descendant of Gov. Thomas Prince. Isaac Winslow was commissioned in 1715 colonel of a regiment that embraced all the local militia of Plymouth County; John Cushing of Scituate was his lieutenant colonel, and Isaac Lothrop of Plymouth, major. Col. Isaac Winslow was chief justice of the court of common pleas twenty years; president of the council of Massachusetts; and judge of the court of probate for county of Plymouth. He died Dec. 6, 1738; his wife died Dec. 16, 1753. They were the parents of the distinguished Maj. Gen. John Winslow, of Acadian or neutral French notoriety.

* William Bradford was a son of William Bradford the second governor of Plymouth Colony, elected to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death in April, 1621, of John Carver, the first governor of that colony. William, the son, was born in Plymouth June 17, 1624; married Alice, a daughter of Thomas Richards of Weymouth; she died Dec. 12, 1671; his 2d wife was a widow Wiswall; his 3d wife was Mary, the widow of Rev. John Holmes of Duxbury; she died June 6, 1715. William Bradford was commissioned ensign of the local militia in the town of Plymouth,

Staff Officers.

THOS. HUCKINS, *Commissary*; MATTHEW FULLER, *Surg.*

FIRST COMPANY.—William Bradford, of Plymouth, *Captain*; Robert Barker,* of Duxbury, *Lieutenant*.

SECOND COMPANY.—John Gorham, of Barnstable, *Captain*; Jonathan Sparrow, of Eastham, *Lieutenant*.

March 7, 1648; promoted Oct. 2, 1659, to captain of a company of cavalry raised at large in the colony; a few years later was made major commandant of the regiment that embraced all the militia of the colony. When Plymouth Colony was divided into three counties, viz., in June, 1685, the militia was divided into three regiments, William Bradford continuing in command of the Plymouth County regiment, John Freeman of Eastham commissioned to command the Barnstable County regiment, and John Walley of the town of Bristol, the Bristol County regiment. Maj. William Bradford was one of the council of Gov. Edmund Andros; promoted to deputy governor in 1682. His will bore date of Jan. 29, 1703. His gravestone bears the following inscription:

"Here lyes y^e body of y^e Honorable William Bradford, who expired February y^e 20, 1703-4, aged 79 years.

"He lived long, but was still doing good,
And in his country's service lost much blood.
After a life well spent he's now at rest;
His very name and memory is blest."

That loss of blood in his country's service was in the Great Swamp Fight, Dec. 19, 1675, where and when a bullet entered his body and was never extracted, but found a resting place with his remains in the grave, more than 28 years after.

* The public records of Plymouth Colony, vol. v. page 189, contain the following:

"Att a Meeting of the Councell of War for this Jurisdiction att Plymouth the 10th Day of March anno Dom 1675 [1676, as we now reckon time], Orders and Conclusions were made and ordered as followeth.

"In reference vnto the offenciu^e fact of Robert Barker in breaking away from the army when they were on their march in a mutinous way, and by his example alureing others to come away with him to the great scandal prejudice, and disparagement of the collonie and in p'ticular vnto the comander in cheiffe, viz., the generall.

"Forasmuch as, vpon his late examination, hee doth in some measure take to his great offence, the councell doe cenceinte him heerby to be degraded from the honor and office of lieftenant, and to pay a fine of fifteen pounds to the vse of the collonie in currant siluer mony of New England and to defray the charge of his late imprisonment.

"The councell doe alsoe order, that all such as came away from the army with the said Robert Barker, or followed him in a disorderly way, shall likewise forfeite their wages as to that expedition."

Winsor's history of Duxbury informs us that this "skedadling" officer was a son of Robert Barker of Duxbury, whose will was made Feb. 18, 1689, and an inventory of his effects taken March 15, 1692. Robert, the son, owned land at Pudding Brook, in Duxbury; removed to Scituate

MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT.

SAMUEL APPLETON, of Ipswich, *Major Commandant*, and captain of first company.

FIRST COMPANY.—Samuel Appleton, of Ipswich, *Captain*.

SECOND COMPANY.—Samuel Moseley, *Captain*; Perez Savage, of Boston, *Lieutenant*.

THIRD COMPANY.—James Oliver,* of Boston, *Captain*; Ephraim Turner,† of Boston, *Lieutenant*.

FOURTH COMPANY.—Isaac Johnson,‡ of Roxbury, *Captain*; Phineas Upham,§ *Lieutenant*.

in or about 1689, and returned to Duxbury in or about 1701. He had a brother Isaac, and sisters Rebecca and Abigail. Rebecca married William Snow.

The following is a copy of the order issued to the commissioned officers of the Plymouth Colony forces Dec. 6, 1675. (See vol. v. page 183, Plymouth Colony Records.)

"Gent^{en} you are hereby required to procure youer men pressed to be in a reddines to march soe as they attaine to meet att Providence on the tenth of December next; and in order therunto, that they rendezvous on the seauenth of the said month att Plymouth, on the eight att Taunton, att Rehoboth on the 9th, and at Providence on the tenth as aforesaid; and that you see that they be not onely able and fitt men but alsoe well fitted with clothing nessesary for the season and prouided with knapsacks and amunition according to order, viz., halfe a pound of powder and 4 pound of bullets to each man. Fayle not."

Preparatory to marching, the Massachusetts forces were mustered on Dedham Plain; but the Plymouth forces, in compliance with orders, could not have united with the Massachusetts men on Dedham Plain, but formed a junction with them at Providence, R. I.

* Capt. James Oliver, of Boston, joined the A. & H. A. Company in 1640, was made ensign of the same in 1651, lieutenant in 1653, captain in 1656, and again in 1666. He was captain of the first company in the local militia of Boston, in the time of King Philip's war, and had been probably for several years before.

† Lieutenant Ephraim Turner, of Boston, was commissioned May 12, 1675, ensign of the first company in the local militia of that place. He was received as a member into the A. & H. A. Company in 1663, and appears to have been the only addition to the ranks of that command made that year.

‡ Capt. Isaac Johnson, of Roxbury, joined the A. & H. A. Company in 1645, was made a lieutenant in 1666, and captain in 1667. Of the local militia in Roxbury he was commissioned captain, Sept. 8, 1653. He was slain at the gate of the Indian fortification, Dec. 19, 1675.

§ Lieut. Phineas Upham was mortally wounded in the Great Swamp Fight, December, 1675.

In September, 1675, Lieut. Upham was a subaltern officer under Capt. John Gorham, of Barnstable, and out on a scout after Indians in what is now the towns of Grafton, Oxford and Dudley, and the city of Worcester, then an almost unbroken wilderness.

FIFTH COMPANY.—Nathaniel Davenport,* of Boston, *Captain*; Edward Tyng,† of Boston, *Lieutenant*.

SIXTH COMPANY.—Joseph Gardiner,‡ of Salem, *Captain*.

Under date of Mendon, Oct. 1, 1675, Lieut. Upham addressed a letter to the Governor and Council of Massachusetts, in which he said, "Now seeing that in all our marches we find no Indians, we verily think that they are drawn together into great bodies, far remote from these parts," and thus it in fact proved to be, and that drawing together into a great body was then being done on the island in the swamp, in what is now the town of Kingston, in Washington County, Rhode Island. See *Salem Witchcraft*, by C. W. Upham, vol. i. p. 119.

* Capt. Nathaniel Davenport was a son of Richard Davenport, a lieutenant in the Massachusetts forces in the Pequot war, 1637, also lieutenant of local militia of Salem, under Capt. Wm. Trask. Richard joined the A. & H. A. Company at Boston in 1640, was made captain of the castle in Boston harbor (now Fort Independence), where he was killed by lightning, July 15, 1665.

Capt. Nathaniel, the son, was born in Salem and brought up there, and on the castle island in Boston harbor, and on attaining his majority, went to and engaged in commercial pursuits at New York, where he remained until about the commencement of King Philip's war, when he returned to Massachusetts, and set up his business in Boston. He was serving at court, was taken out of the jury in a pending trial, and placed at the head of his company when he made, said an early writer, "a very civil speech" (to his command), and allowed them to choose their sergeants themselves. He took no time to settle his accounts, arrange his affairs, or confer concerning his private and personal business with any one, but led his company at once to the rendezvous. He was a soldier by inheritance, had martial blood in his veins and breathed a military atmosphere in childhood. His company and that of Captian Moseley led the van in that terribly sanguinary struggle, called the Great Swamp Fight, that then had, and even till now, more than two hundred years after the event, has had no parallel on New England soil. Capt. Davenport, dressed in a full buff suit, led his company into that baptism by immersion in blood and fire. From his attitude and uniform, the Indians probably mistook him for the commander-in-chief, and he quickly fell, pierced with three bullet wounds, when just within the gate of the fort. And when all around him was confusion, he remained perfectly collected and calm, called his lieutenant, Edward Tyng, handed him his arms, gave him the command of the company, and died. (See Palfrey's *History of Massachusetts*, Upham's *Salem Witchcraft*, and works of Samuel G. Drake.)

† In 1668 Edward Tyng, Jr., became a member of the A. & H. A. Company at Boston. Probably identical with the Lieut. Edward Tyng, of Capt. Davenport's Company.

‡ Captain Joseph Gardiner, of Salem, was a son of Thomas Gardiner, who emigrated to America in 1624 and settled at Cape Ann, from whence he removed to Salem and represented the latter place in the colonial court in 1637. Of the first company of the local militia in Salem (Salem then had two companies), Joseph Gardiner, on the 7th of October, 1674, was commissioned captain. He was also appointed to command one of the companies raised for the Narraganset Expedition in King Philip's War. Benjamin Church, in his interesting "narrative" of "many passages,"

CAVALRY COMPANY (annexed).—Thomas Prentice, of Cambridge (now Newton), *Captain*.

CONNECTICUT REGIMENT.

ROBERT TREAT,* of Milford, *Major Commandant*.

FIRST COMPANY.—John Gallop, of New London, *Captain*.

SECOND COMPANY.—Samuel Marshall, of Windsor, *Captain*.

THIRD COMPANY.—Robert Seely, of Stratford, *Captain*.

FOURTH COMPANY.—Mason, *Captain*.

FIFTH COMPANY.—Watts, *Captain*.

It is greatly to be regretted that authentic lists of the names of the men who served in this expedition were not entered upon the official records of the several colonies therein engaged, so that those desirous now to learn who these were might be gratified. In the cases

thus describes the death of Capt. Joseph Gardiner, killed in the Great Swamp Fight, Dec. 19, 1675.

Mr. Church, espying Capt. Gardiner, of Salem, amidst the wigwams in the east end of the fort, made towards him; but on a sudden, while they were looking each other in the face, Captain Gardiner settled down. Mr. Church stepped to him, and seeing the blood run down his cheek, lifted up his cap and called him by name. He looked up in his face but spake not a word, being mortally shot through the head; and observing his wound, Mr. Church found the ball entered his head on the side that was next the upland where the English entered the swamp; upon which having ordered some care to be taken of the captain he despatched information to the general that the best and most forward of his army that hazarded their lives to enter the fort upon the muzzle of the enemy's guns, were shot in their backs and killed by them that lay behind. Mr. Church, with his small company, hastened out of the fort that the English were now in possession of to get a shot at the Indians that were in the swamp, and kept firing upon them. The wife of Capt. Joseph Gardiner, that day made a widow, became the wife of Governor Bradstreet in 1680. She died in 1713. Capt. Gardiner seems to have died almost at the moment of victory, and to have fallen a sacrifice to the careless or improper use of fire arms in the hands of the English.

* Maj. Robert Treat was afterwards governor of Connecticut. He was father of Rev. Samuel Treat, minister of the gospel at Eastham, and great-grandfather of Robert Treat Paine, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

of the companies of Captains Moseley and Johnson, duly attested rolls were placed on the official records, copies of which are herein presented. What is given concerning the names of the soldiers of other companies has been gleaned from various sources and many different authorities.

FIRST PLYMOUTH COLONY COMPANY.

Commissioned Officers.—William Bradford, of Plymouth, *Captain*. [Robert Barker of Duxbury, the lieutenant, as shown on page 116, ran away and had no participation in the battle.]

Private Soldiers.—The History of Rehoboth by Leonard Bliss, page 117, says, "The names of the Rehoboth soldiers who served in Philip's war have been preserved, and are as follows:" Those engaged in the Narraganset expedition were, John Fitch, Jonathan Wilmarth, Jasiel Perry, Thomas Kendrick, Jonathan Sabin, John Carpenter, John Redeway, John Martin, John Hall, John Miller, Jun., John Ide, Joseph Doggett, Sampson Mason, Jun. "Those who served under Major Bradford were, Preserved Abell, Samuell Perry, Stephen Paine, Jun., Samuel Miller, Silas T. Alin, Samuel Palmer, James Redeway, Enoch Hunt, Samuel Walker, Nicholas Ide, Noah Mason, Samuel Sabin, Thomas Read, Israel Read, George Robinson, Nathaniel Wilmarth."

NOTE.—It is not safe to conclude that all Rehoboth soldiers who served in the Narraganset expedition were in the Plymouth Colony Battalion, though they probably were; but that those reported as serving under Major Bradford were in that battalion admits of no reasonable doubt—and those, too, were probably in the first company. I have learned of two other soldiers who were of the Plymouth Colony forces in the Narraganset expedition, viz., William Hoskins, of Taunton, and Isaac Peirce, of Duxbury. The writer of this book is a lineal descendant of both Hoskins and Peirce, and in searching for information concerning his ancestry he found incontestable proof that these men were soldiers in the Narraganset expedition of King Philip's war.

William Hoskins, of Taunton, made a will March 26, 1730, in which he gave away lands that, as he therein stated, were granted to him for his services in the "Narraganset War." Henry Hoskins, a son of William, was born in Taunton Oct. 12, 1686, and married Abigail Godfrey. They had a daughter Mary Hoskins, born Oct. 8, 1711, who, Dec. 13, 1728, became the wife of Ebenezer Peirce of Middleborough, that part now Lakeville. Ebenezer Peirce and wife Mary were gr. grandparents to the writer of this book. That Ebenezer Peirce was grandson of the Narraganset soldier, Isaac Peirce.

SECOND PLYMOUTH COLONY COMPANY

Commissioned Officers.—John Gorham,* of Barnstable, *Captain*; Jonathan Sparrow,† of Eastham, *Lieutenant*.

* Capt. John Gorham was a son of Ralph Gorham, of Duxbury. Capt. John resided successively at Marshfield, Plymouth, Yarmouth and Barnstable. He married, Nov. 6, 1644, Desire Howland, a daughter of the Pilgrim John Howland, who came to America in December, 1620, and whose wife was Elizabeth, a daughter of Gov. John Carver. Capt. Gorham and wife Desire had children as follows: Desire, born 1645; Temperance, born 1646; Elizabeth, born 1648; James, born April 28, 1650; John, born Feb. 20, 1651; Joseph, born Feb. 10, 1653; Jabez, born Aug. 3, 1656, was wounded in King Philip's War; Mercy, born 1658; Lydia, born in 1661. Capt. John Gorham died of a fever in Swansea (where he was then stationed with his company), Feb. 5, 1676. Desire, his wife, died Oct. 13, 1683. John, the son, born February 20, 1651, I think was identical with the John Gorham, a captain under Major Benjamin Church, in the expedition against the eastern Indians in 1696, and who was a lieutenant colonel in a like expedition in 1703.

In the "Old French War," 1745, one of the Mass. regiments was led by a Colonel Gorham, and the lieutenant colonel was also of that family. The colonel seems to have lost his life in that expedition. The following touching that affair is from "Niles's Wonder Working Providence."

"Whilst we in honor these commanders have,
 Lets turn our thoughts to Colonel Gorham's grave,
 Who with his ancestors distinguished are,
 As men of courage mighty in the war.
 He lies interred in the new conquered soil,
 The fruit of his and other warlike toil,
 Lieutenant Colonel Gorham nigh of kin
 To his deceased Head, did honor win,
 Unite in nature, name and trust they stood,
 Unitedly have done their country good."

Of John Thatcher of Yarmouth, major of that regiment, the poet wrote:

"May Major Thatcher live in rising fame,
 Worthy of ancestors that bore his name."

† Jonathan Sparrow was a son of the emigrant Richard Sparrow.

Non-commissioned Officers.—William Wetherell,* William Gray, Nathaniel Hall, *Sergeants*; John Hallet, *Corporal*.

Private Soldiers.—James Claghorn, Henry Gold, Henry Gage, Benjamin Hall, Ananias Wing, Samuel Sturges, John Pugsley, Samuel Baker, Richard Taylor, William Chase, John Whelden.

Jonathan was a constable in 1656, took the freeman's oath in 1657, belonged to the colonial company of cavalry in 1664, was selectman of Eastham 10 years, deacon of the church, representative to the general court of Plymouth colony, and also to the court of that and Mass. after these were united, and Justice of Barnstable county court.

In June, 1680, Jonathan Sparrow was commissioned captain of the company of militia in Eastham, with Joseph Snow as his lieutenant and Jonathan Bangs, ensign. Capt. Jonathan Sparrow married three times. 1st, Rebecca, a daughter of Edward Bangs. 2d, Hannah, a daughter of Gov. Thomas Prince. 3d, Sarah, a daughter of George Lewis. Jabez Sparrow, of Orleans (what had been Eastham), was commissioned lieutenant colonel Dec. 1, 1797. Probably a lineal descendant of Capt. Jonathan Sparrow. (Dean Dudley's Historical Sketches of Barnstable county towns.)

* Sergeant William Wetherell was the first English settler in that part of ancient Taunton, now Norton, where he commenced to clear for himself a farm in the wilderness as early as 1669, or two hundred and nine years ago. He had been a resident of Taunton quite a number of years before going to and settling in what became Norton. His name appears upon the roll of the local militia in Taunton in 1643, and he was a constable of that town in 1662 and 1676, representative to the general court in 1671, 1676 and 1685; selectman in 1685. When, in 1673, Plymouth colony took measures to wage a war with the Dutch at what is now New York, and raised a company for that purpose, the officers appointed were as follows: James Cudworth, of Scituate, captain; John Gorham, of Barnstable, lieutenant; Michael Peirse, of Scituate, ensign; William Wetherell, Thomas Harvey, John Wetherell, and Philip Leonard, sergeants.

Two years later William Wetherell was made the first or ranking sergeant in Capt. John Gorham's company in the Plymouth colony forces, and at the great swamp fight, Dec. 19, 1675, Sergeant William Wetherell was severely wounded. So great was the injury sustained that he was left at the house of Capt. Peleg Sanford, on Rhode Island, Dec. 24, 1675 (five days after the swamp fight in what is now Kingston, R. I.), and he did not recover sufficiently to be taken home until Oct. 17, 1676, a period of nearly ten months.

Plymouth colony court, in consideration of the sufferings of Sergeant William Wetherell from that wound, granted him in 1685 ten pounds, and in 1686 five pounds. He also received a grant of wild uncultivated land. His will bore date of Aug. 16, 1691. It was presented at the court of Probate, Nov. 18, 1691. He must therefore have died between Aug. 16, and Nov. 18, 1691.

The children of Sergeant William Wetherell were, William, John, Ephraim and Dorothy. Dorothy married twice. First, Aug. 26, 1674, she was united in wedlock with Elias Irish. He died, and on the 1st day of April, 1686, she became the wife of William Wood.

Captain Samuel Moseley, concerning whom we have frequently spoken in this narrative, was a desperate and determined fighter. The following is a true copy of the names of this command, as entered upon an ancient official record :

A list of Captain Samuel Mosselys Company taken at Dedham the 9th Day of Xber,* 1675.

Samuel Mossely, Capt.; Lieut. Peris Sauige; Dainell Mathews and James Junson, Serjeants; James Smith, Dennis Siky, Clerke; Edward Wesson, Jno. Fuller, Richard Barnum, Samuel Fosdicke, Corporalls; Jno. Farmer, Richard Brien, Frauncis Earle, Jno. Canterbury, Samuel Kemble, James Vpdeicke, Richard Adams, Jno. Bouckman, Joseph Touchwill, Thomas Region, Jno. Yeates, Jonathan Nickolls, Jonathan Weals, Peater Leane, John Ramsye, Edward Weaden, Andrew Johnson, Jno. Crosse, Tymothy Arnane, Benjamin Dayer, Jno. Ayreson, Jno. Dounbare, Samuel Guild, Samuel Veile, Jonathan Freeman, Jno. Plimpton, William Blacke, Jno. Willingstone, Jno. Turner, Tymothy Weals, Bolthomy Flag, Richard Gibson, Thomas Warren, William Blacke, Anthoney Backer, John Rise, Frauncis Sidal, Jno. Sherman, Jno. Cooper, Jno. Leigh, James Franklin, William Phillips, Mathew Thomas, James Morgan, Hugh Collohane, Jeremias Stockes, James Digenton, Joshua Siluerwood, Thomas Bull, William Beateman, (Daniel Mc Kennys and Jno. Aruel both rune away with their armes) Thomas Hackerbery, Benjeman Allen, Frauncis Bourgis, Nicholas Greene, William Good, Jno. Cooke, Jno. Brandon, Jno. Cousier, Richard Hopkins, Jno. Stebence.

The names of those from Malden.—Thomas May, James Chadwicke, Jno. Winslead, Jno. Mudge, Edmond Chamberline, Jno. Rosse, Jno. Puinder, James Wealsh not apeare.

Charlestowne men.—Hen. Swaine, Thomas Daus, Samuel Leman, William Burt, Jno. Mousall, Joseph Dawse, Nathaniell Keane, George Grimes, Edward Walker, Joseph Low, Jno. Essery, Jno. Shepard, Jacob Cole, David Jones,

* Xber signified December, as December was then considered the tenth month.

(Benjeman Latrope, Juniour, Thomas Weals, Juniour, Jno. Trumball, Jun. not appears).

Dedham—Sam'l Colborne, John Day, Rob't Weare, Abra Hartway, Henry Ellintroop.

NOTE.—Either there was a mistake made or there were two soldiers bearing the name of William Blacke in this company.

CAPTAIN ISAAC JOHNSON'S COMPANY.

Commissioned Officers.—Isaac Johnson, of Roxbury, *Captain*; Phyneas Upham, of Malden, *Lieutenant*.

Roxbury men.—Henry Bowen, John Watson, Wm. Lincoln, Abiel Lamb, John Scot, Onisiphorus Stanley, Isaack Morrice, Wm. Danforth, Joseph Goad, Sam'l Gardiner, Nath. Wilson, John Hubbard, Tho. Baker. (Wanting, Thom. Cheney, John Corbin, John Newel.)

Dorchester men.—Henry Mare his man [doubtless this meant a man furnished by Henry Mare], Hopestill Humphrey, John Spurre, Ebenezer Hill, Nicholas Weymouth, John Plummer, Charles Capin, Tho. Grant, Tho. Davenport, Robert Stanton. (Wanting, Henry Withington, George Minot, Isaack Ryall.)

Milton men.—Jon. Fennow, Obadiah Wheaton, Joseph Tucker, Benj. Crane.

Braintree men.—Ebenezer Owen, Sam. Basse, Wm. Sable, Tho. Holbrook, Rich. Thayer, Martin Saunders, Francis Nash, Increase Niles, Henry Bartlet, Tho. Copeland, James Atkins, Jonathan Pitcher.

Weymouth men.—Hezek. King, Jonas Humphrey, Joseph Richards, Allin Dugland, John Whitmarsh, Peeter Gurnay, Edward Kingman, John Read, James Read, John Lovet, Will. Mellis, John Hollis(?), John Burril.

Hingham men.—Benj. Bates, John Jacob, John Langley, Edward Wilder, Tho. Thaxter, Ebenezer Lane, Sam. Lincoln, Ephraim Lane, Joshua Lorel(?), John Ball, Wm. Hearsey, Francis Gardiner, Nath. Beales, Nath. Nichols, Humphrey Johnson. (Wanting, Wm. Woodcock.)

Hull men.—George Vicar, John Bosworth, Joseph Benson, Wm. Chamberlin, Christo. Wheaton, Isaack Prince, Isaack Cole, Henry Chamberlin.

75 appeared. 8 appeared not.

NOTE.—In copying the above rolls I have been careful to spell the names as these were entered upon the public records which are still in the archives at the State House, Boston. (See military vol. No. 67, page 299.) The names under the word *wanting* were doubtless those of men who had volunteered or been impressed but did not report for duty at the time appointed, and hence did not participate in the great swamp fight, Dec. 19, 1675. Only 7 are marked “wanting,” but in the summing up the record says “8 appeared not.”

CAPTAIN JOSEPH GARDINER'S COMPANY.

Commissioned Officers.—Joseph Gardiner, of Salem, *Captain.*

Private Soldiers.—Joseph Peirce and Sam'l Pikeworth, of Salem, and Mark Bachelder of Wenham, were killed outright while endeavoring to force an entrance at the gate of the Indian fort. Abraham Switchell of Marblehead, Joseph Soams of Cape Ann, and Robert Andrews of Topsfield, were killed after entering the fort. Charles Knight, Thomas Flint and Joseph Houlton, Jr., of Salem Village; Nicholas Hakins and John Farrington, of Lynn; Robert Cox, of Marblehead; Eben. Baker and Joseph Abbot, of Andover; Edward Harding, of Cape Ann; and Christopher Read, of Beverly—were wounded. (See Salem Witchcraft, by Charles W. Upham, vol. i. page 123.) Of those soldiers who participated in that battle and escaped unhurt, the following, then residents of Salem Village and its immediate vicinity, were probably in Capt. Gardiner's company.—John Dodge, William Dodge, William Raymond, Thomas Raymond, John Raymond,*

* John Raymond claimed to have been the first soldier who entered the Indian fort. He was then 27 years of age. In 1685, he was still living in Salem Village and petitioned the general court of Massachusetts to redeem its promise in the bestowment of a gratuity of land. That colony had promised its soldiers such a gratuity when mustered on Dedham Plain, on the 9th of December, 1675, provided those soldiers ‘played the

Joseph Herrick, Thomas Putnam, Jr., Thomas Abbey, Robert Leach and Peter Prescott. (See Upham's Salem Witchcraft, vol. i. page 129.)

The writer of this book regrets his inability to furnish reliable lists of the names of all the men who served in the several companies composing the English forces engaged at the Great Swamp Fight, Dec. 19, 1675; and in the absence of a full knowledge on that matter, he deems it right and proper to approximate as near the desired point as his information thus far obtained will permit. Here is a partial list of the names of commissioned officers, non-commissioned officers and private soldiers who, in King Philip's War, served in the cavalry company annexed to the Massachusetts regiment. Doubtless some of them were at the Great Swamp Fight.

Commissioned Officers.—Thomas Prentice* of (Cambridge, now) Newton, *Captain*; Edward Oaks† of Cambridge, *Lieutenant*.

Private Soldiers.‡—John Adams, Daniel Champney, John

man, took the fort and drove the enemy out of the Narraganset country." He removed to Middleborough, and became a member of the 1st Congregational church in that place. There he died and was buried. Probably he was the ancestor of most, if not indeed of all, of the Raymonds in that section of the state.

* Captain Thomas Prentice was distinguished for his services in King Philip's war; appointed a justice of the peace in 1686; was representative to general court in 1672, 1673 and 1674; commanded the mounted guard that took Sir Edmund Andros as a prisoner from Rhode Island to Boston, in August, 1689. He died July 7, 1709, aged 89, in consequence of a fall from a horse about two months previous, on his return from a meeting on the sabbath.—*History of Cambridge.*

† Edward Oaks was selectman of Cambridge 29 years; representative to general court 17 years; also representative for Concord 3 years; was a quarter-master in 1656. He died Oct. 13, 1689, aged 85 years. Some have thought him identical with the Lieut. Edward Oakes of Capt. Prentice's cavalry company, but whether he or his son of the same name is a question.—*Paige's History of Cambridge.*

‡ Rev. L. R. Paige, in his History of Cambridge, gives the following list of soldiers of that place who served in King Philip's war. Probably some of these performed service in Capt. Prentice's cavalry company:

Eames, David Stone and Samuel Stone, Jr., all of Cambridge, were ordered into service in Nov. 1675, and doubtless were on duty in this company at the date of the Great Swamp Fight. John Druce of Cambridge was mortally wounded when going from Rehoboth to Swansea, July 1, 1675. (See note on page 86 of this book.) Nov. 26, 1675, were impressed in Cambridge, Corporal Jonathan Remington; Privates, Isaac Amsden, Jacob Amsden, John Amsden, Gershom Cutter, Wm. Gleason, James Hubbard, Jonathan Lawrence, Nath'l Patten, Samuel Read, Samuel Swan and Daniel Woodward; and they, either in the cavalry or infantry, probably participated in the Great Swamp Fight.

Boston troops left that place for Dedham on the 8th of December, 1675.

The six companies of infantry and one company of cavalry, composing the Massachusetts regiment, raised for service in the Narraganset country, started on the march from Dedham, Dec. 10, 1675. The winter had set in earlier than usual; much snow had fallen and the weather was extremely cold. This regiment, under the lead of Major Samuel Appleton,* of Ipswich, proceeded to Providence, R. I., where a junction was formed with the two companies of infantry raised by Plymouth colony, and sent forward under Major William Bradford.

Matthew Abdy, Thomas Adams, John Barrett, Thomas Batherick, Richard Beach, Joseph Bemis, William Bordman, Francis Bowman, Matthew Bridge, Thomas Brown, Samuel Buck, Samuel Bull, Samuel Champney, James Cheever, Joseph Cooke, Stephen Cooke, Benjamin Crackbone (killed), John Cragg, James Cutler, Samuel Cutler, Jonathan Dunster, Thomas Foster, Stephen Francis, Thomas Frost, Simon Gates, John Gibson, Samuel Gibson, Samuel Goffe, Nathaniel Green, John Hastings, Nathaniel Healy, Zachariah Hicks, Jacob Hill, Justinian Holden, Sebeas Jackson, Ambrose McFassett, Daniel Magennis, Amos Marret, Thomas Mitchelson, John Needham, Thomas Oliver, Zachariah Paddlefoot, John Park, Solomon Phipps, Henry Prentice, James Prentice, Solomon Prentice, William Read, Samuel Robbins, Jason Russell, William Russell, John Smith, Joseph Smith, Nathaniel Smith, Samuel Smith, John Squire, John Stedman, Andrew Stimson, John Streeter, Gershom Swan, John Wellington, Jacob Willard, John Winter.

* Maj. Samuel Appleton was born in England in or about 1625. He died in Ipswich, Mass., May 15, 1696.

On the evening of Dec. 12, 1675, Massachusetts and Plymouth Colony forces reached a place of temporary rendezvous on the north side of Wickford Hill, in North Kingston, R. I. Remaining there one night, the next morning with General Josias Winslow at the head, proceeded on to the house of a Mr. Smith, where they suffered a delay of a few days awaiting the arrival of the Connecticut troops, and during which time the Indians destroyed the fortified house of Jireh Bull at South Kingston, R. I., and killed about seventeen persons. This was a daring feat on the part of the Indians, with so large an army not far distant and large reinforcements to that army daily and hourly expected. Bull's house was quite a large building, constructed of stone and enclosed with a stone wall, and garrisoned with about a dozen soldiers, and yet the Indians gained possession of it, set it on fire, thus destroying all that would burn, and put its occupants to death. This was done on the 16th of December, 1675. Bull's garrison thus destroyed was about fifteen miles from the main rendezvous of the Indians, and on the direct line of march from the English army to that rendezvous.

Saturday, Dec. 18, 1675, the Connecticut troops under Major Robert Treat arrived, and were united with those from Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies; and though quite a body of snow lay on the ground, no further delay to a forward movement was suffered, the combined forces of the three colonies marching to the site of Bull's garrison, which, till their arrival, probably they had not learned was destroyed. Here, unsheltered from the wintry blasts, the allies passed the night of the 18th of December, until about half past five o'clock the next morning, when (their provisions being exhausted and the supply that they had expected to find in Bull's garrisoned house destroyed by the

Indians) the wearied, frost bitten and hungry column recommenced its march through an almost trackless wilderness, further impeded by the heavy coating of snow that covered the ground, constantly accumulating and adding to its depth by that which during nearly all that sabbath day continued to fall. Napoleon once said that he could make circumstances, but could not control the elements; and it requires the eye of only a casual observer to see that General Winslow had not only a multitude of untoward and most disheartening circumstances with which to contend, but the elements also were united in a war against him. From half past five in the morning till between one and two o'clock in the afternoon, did that wearied column force its way through the snow, dragging its slow length through paths winding, rough and difficult, thick woods, across gullies, over hills and fields, till it arrived on the borders of a hideous swamp, where for the present let us leave them while we turn our thoughts to their opponents, those with whom they were so soon fiercely to contend.

Upon an island of five or six acres, surrounded by this "hideous swamp," the Indians had intrenched and fortified themselves, and had here gone into winter quarters, the defences being a well-constructed double row of palisades about a rod apart, and still further strengthened by an immense hedge of fallen trees about a rod in thickness, presenting the branches outward. Within this fortification the Indians had erected about five hundred wigwams, in which they had deposited large quantities of Indian corn in baskets and tubs piled one upon another, and thus rendering the wigwams bullet proof. Here about three thousand Indians, including warriors, old men, women and children, had taken up their residence for the winter.

More than a hundred years later these premises, viz.

island and swamp, were cleared, so that the former is now an upland meadow, and the latter a low meadow. In wet seasons of the year, water sometimes covers the low meadow, thus again rendering the high one an island.*

There was only one place where this Indian fort could be assailed with any reasonable hope of success, and that was at the main entrance, which was fortified with a block house and flankers, which enabled the Indians both to enfilade and sweep this opening with a cross fire. Between the fort and the main land was a considerable body of water, less difficult probably than it had sometimes been to cross, as at the date of the English attack this was doubtless frozen. But to aid in passing over this ditch the Indians had fallen a large tree, so as to span the stream, and reaching from the main land to the principal entrance already described of the fortification. That tree made a foot bridge about six feet above the ditch. There were other small entrances to the fort, but this, with its almost insurmountable difficulties, was the most accessible.

Just before the English arrived at the fort, they had the good fortune to capture thirty-five Indians, one of whom, Peter by name, like his great prototype was ready to deny, at least in allegiance, his rightful lord and proper master; and but for the traitorous conduct of this Indian Peter, it is by no means certain that the English forces would have found the Indian fort at all, to say nothing of discovering the only vulnerable point in that admirably constructed defence.

Rev. Cotton Mather, writing about twenty-five years after the date of the Great Swamp Fight, said that the order in which the several companies were led into that

* This a few years since was owned by J. G. Clark, Esq., whose father cleared it of the trees in or about the year 1780. (See Drake's Book of the Indians.)

battle was as follows:—Capt. Moseley and Capt. Davenport led the van; Capt. Gardiner and Capt. Johnson were in the centre; Maj. Appleton and Capt. Oliver brought up the rear of the Massachusetts forces. Gen. Winslow, with the Plymouth forces under Maj. Bradford and Capt. Gorham, marched in the centre. And the Connecticut forces under Maj. Treat and Capt. Seely, Capt. Gallop, Capt. Mason, Capt. Watts and Capt. Marshall, made the rear of the whole body.

Anticipating the attack, the Indian commander had filled his block house with sharp-shooters, and also lined the palisades with Indian warriors. Winslow's order for an assault was instantly followed by a "double quick" movement on the part of the English, who with unrestrained ardor struggled as in a race to reach the fiery mouth of the Indian fort, although it was into the jaws of death under the red men's unerring aim that swept the entrance as with a besom of destruction. Capt. Isaac Johnson, of Roxbury, was killed outright while trying to lead his company over the foot-bridge formed by the fallen tree, and Capt. Nathaniel Davenport, of Boston, pierced with three fatal shots, fell and expired just within the gate; for the head of that column went down like grass before the scythe, disappeared as snow beneath the heated rays of a noonday's sun; but the centre and rear of that resistless force pressed up to support and fill the frightful gaps death had made in the front; and thus all shared equally in the responsibilities and dangers of the hour. Meanwhile the Connecticut forces (who had formed the rear) being pushed forward, and travelling over their dead and dying comrades of the front and centre, aided in forcing the terrible passage at the gate, and joined in the desperate hand to hand fight with the Indians within the fort; two Connecticut captains, viz., John Gallop, of New London, and Samuel Marshall, of Windsor,

tasting death in the struggle, and Capt. Robert Seely of New Haven being mortally wounded. From a shot in the rear, Capt. Joseph Gardiner of Salem is added to the list of gallant dead at the very moment of victory; Lieut. Phineas Upham, of Malden, had received his death wound; Major William Bradford was pierced with a musket ball that he carried through life and which found a lodgment with his corpse in the grave; and Benjamin Church, of Little Compton, had received a painful though curable injury; added to which in this bloody encounter, among the English soldiers over eighty were killed outright and one hundred and fifty wounded. It was a great, but a very costly, dear and blood-bought victory.

Capt. John Gorham, of the Plymouth Colony forces, was not wounded, but his health was so injured by the hardships incident to his participation in this war, that he died in a little more than one month after the Great Swamp Fight; and in consideration of the deaths of the captains slain in that battle, and the death of Captain Gorham, the Rev. Increase Mather wrote: "Thus did the Lord take away seven Captains out of that Army. Also four Lieutenants were wounded in that Fort Fight so that although the English had the better of it, yet not without solemn and humbling Rebukes of Providence."

Thus it appears that three lieutenants, besides Lieutenant Phineas Upham, were wounded in the Great Swamp Fight, but Upham probably was the only lieutenant whose wound proved mortal. Rev. Increase Mather, writing at about the time of that battle, and his son the Rev. Cotton Mather, writing a few years later, agree so nearly in their statements with regard to the number of English slain and wounded in that engagement, that it seems quite evident that the latter did little more than copy from the former. The Rev.

Increase Mather said : "Of the English there were killed and wounded about two hundred and thirty, whereof only eighty and five persons are dead." Rev. Cotton Mather said "about eighty five were slain and an hundred and fifty wounded." The difference of five among the wounded is no more than might have been expected, when time had enabled Cotton Mather to become acquainted with some particulars that had escaped the knowledge of his father, who wrote while yet some essential facts remained unknown to the public.*

If those, who, twenty-five years from the date of the late war of the great rebellion, can state facts founded upon irresistible conclusions arrived at in view of the knowledge of those facts attained during that quarter of a century after the close of that conflict, and approximate as nearly to the sensational stuff that Greeley put forth under the name of "history," as Cotton Mather did to that written by his father concerning the Great Swamp Fight, the writer of this book will be greatly mistaken. Other writers have erred in what they have written concerning the late war, but none that I have read so grossly as Horace Greeley, whose history of the rebellion, deficient as I think it to be in common honesty, is even more deficient in common sense; and the writer of this book is at a loss to see how any military man can read Greeley's book and not at once conclude that he lacked not only the proper knowledge, but practical ability and common sense to discriminate between truth and error, and do not need to consider him in the light of his subsequent conduct in connection with a Democratic nomination for the presidency to strongly suspect him of partial lunacy.

* Rev. Increase Mather's History of King Philip's war was published in 1676, and was written while that conflict was being waged. Rev. Cotton Mather's history of the same war appeared in the seventh book of his "Magnalia."

Mr. Henry Trumbull, of Connecticut, who in 1810 published a history of Indian Wars in New England, so far as he went, was much more minute than the Mathers concerning the losses suffered by the English at the Great Swamp Fight. Here are Mr. Trumbull's estimates.

MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT.

Capt. Samuel Moseley's Company,	10	killed,	40	wounded.
" James Oliver's	"	20	"	48
" Isaac Johnson's	"	18	"	38
" Nathaniel Davenport's	"	15	"	19
" Joseph Gardner's	"	11	"	32
		<hr/>		
Total,	74		177	

He omitted altogether to notice the foot company of Samuel Appleton and the cavalry company under Thomas Prentice.

CONNECTICUT REGIMENT.

Capt. John Gallop's Company,	28	killed,	43	wounded.
" Samuel Marshall's	"	25	"	37
" Robert Seely's	"	32	"	50
" ——— Mason's	"	40	"	50
" Thomas Watt's	"	19	"	33
		<hr/>		
	144		213	

PLYMOUTH COLONY FORCES.

Capt. John Gorham's Company, 30 killed, 41 wounded.

Mr. Trumbull omits all notice of Bradford's company of Plymouth Colony, and this, with Appleton's and Prentice's companies of the Mass. Colony, leaves three of the 14 companies unaccounted for; and yet in the eleven companies noticed, Trumbull asserts that there were 248 killed and 431 wounded.

These estimates are so far removed from those made by the Mathers, that there seems to be no possible means of reconciling the one with the others. The probability is that the Mathers erred in stating it too little, and Trumbull too much ; but when statements so widely differ, who shall presume to rectify the error or tell the degree of the fault and where that fault lies ?

Mr. Trumbull also informs us that Oneco, the son of Uncas, with about two hundred Mohegan Indians, assisted the English at the Great Swamp Fight, Dec. 19, 1675, when fifty-one of these allies were slain and eighty-two wounded, making the loss suffered by the assailants upon the Indian fort that day two hundred and ninety-nine killed, and five hundred and thirteen wounded. Total in killed and wounded, eight hundred and twelve.

Rev. Increase Mather, writing about the time of this event, in speaking of the Indians in the fort that were slain, said : "Concerning the number of Indians slain in this Battle we are uncertain." He then continued, that some Indians, afterwards taken prisoners, confessed that three hundred of their fighting men were found in the ruins of the Indian fort, and many of their women and children were burned in the wigwams ; as the English, soon after gaining possession of the fort, set it on fire, thus ending this scene of blood and carnage in a great conflagration. The loss of this fort, with the provisions that it contained, was severely felt by the Indians, who were thus compelled to leave that part of the country ; and when we contemplate that, after the loss of so many of their warriors, together with the destruction of nearly all their provisions for the winter, what they were still able in the following spring to accomplish, carrying war as they did to the hearthstones of nearly or quite every English settlement in what is now Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts

and Rhode Island, it requires no great stretch of the imagination to conclude that had they remained in that fort of the Narraganset country unmolested until the succeeding spring, that spring would have been the last that the European settlers would have spent in the New England portion of the country. The Great Swamp Fight was the most sanguinary battle known in the history of New England, and perhaps of greater moment in determining the future destinies of America, than any other battle ever fought upon the continent, if not indeed in the western hemisphere. Had the English suffered a defeat in the Great Swamp Fight, it would have been the beginning of a speedy end to their occupancy of New England; and the Indians were never able to retrieve the losses that they sustained in the taking of their fort.

Rev. Increase Mather wrote: "Connecticut Forces withdrew to Stonington, there being so many killed and wounded, therefore the army lay still some weeks."

Mr. Henry Trumbull said: "The loss of the troops from Connecticut was so great that Major Treat conceived it absolutely necessary to return immediately home. Such of the wounded as were not able to travel were put on board a vessel and conveyed to Stonington."

Mr. Trumbull continued: "The Massachusetts and Plymouth forces kept the field the greater part of the winter; they ranged the country, took a number of prisoners, destroyed about three hundred wigwams, but achieved nothing brilliant or decisive."

February 5, 1676, the Massachusetts forces (or the most of them) that had been operating in the field, returned to Boston.

February 10, 1676, the Indians made a second attack on the people of Lancaster (the first attack on that place having occurred Aug, 22, 1675, when eight

of its English inhabitants were slain).* This second attack commenced early on the morning of Feb. 10, 1676 (Old Style, which varies eleven days from the present mode of computing time), and was led by King Philip in person. The Indian warriors present were estimated at fifteen hundred, representing Wampanoags, Narragansets, Nipmucks and Nashaways, and these in five different bodies attacked the people in as many different points at the same time. Early writers disagreed concerning the number of English slain and taken captive, one authority setting it at 55, about half of whom suffered death. The Indians took large quantities of plunder, but retired on the approach of Capt. Samuel Wadsworth from Marlborough, with a force of 40 men. Capt. Wadsworth obtained and for a time held possession of the place, with the loss of only one man. When Capt. Wadsworth and his company retired, the remaining English settlers deserted the place, and the Indians returned and burned all the buildings save two, and for more than three years Lancaster remained without a white inhabitant. The wife of Rev. Mr. Rowlandson, of Lancaster, and three of their children, one of her sisters and seven children, and another of her sisters and four children, were among those taken captive, Feb. 10, 1676. Mrs. Rowlandson was a daughter of John White, of Lancaster. On her return from captivity she wrote and published an account thereof, to which we have already referred on pages 44, 45 and 47 of this book.†

Monday morning, Feb. 21, 1676, Medfield suffered

* August 22, 1675, was Sunday. The names of the slain, George Bennett, William Fagg, Jacob Farrar, Joseph Wheeler, Mordecai McLeod together with his wife and two of their children. (See Whitney's History of Worcester County.)

† There were 42 persons who assembled in the house of Rev. Joseph Rowlandson and defended it against the attack of the Indians for more than two hours. They were dislodged by setting the house on fire by pushing against it a cart filled with burning materials.

an Indian attack. The warriors seem to have arrived during the preceding night, and under cover of its darkness were placed in admirable positions in and over almost every part of the town, when at the first dawn of day, as if upon a signal previously agreed on, fifty buildings at the same instant were set into a blaze. The inhabitants, as they left their blazing dwellings, were saluted with bullets that came from the fire-arms of Indians secreted behind fences, walls, houses, barns, trees and bushes, and several were shot down before they could reach the garrison houses. One man was burned in his own dwelling. King Philip, mounted on a black horse, led his warriors in person, and history says that he never stopped to take down bars or open gates, but rode over fences to whatever part of the battle-field his presence was most required. About fifty buildings and two mills were burned, involving a loss that in the currency of our own time would be nine thousand dollars. Rev. Increase Mather, writing at the time, said that all this destruction was dealt by the Indians at Medfield, "although there were two or three hundred Souldiers there," and these soldiers finally brought a cannon to bear upon the Indians, causing them to fall back. Only about five hundred Indians are supposed to have been engaged, and if the English had from two to three hundred soldiers in fortified houses, supplied not only with small arms but also with cannon, this on the part of the Indians was in a military point of view a brilliant achievement. As the Indians fell back they burned a bridge to prevent pursuit, and then going to the top of an adjacent hill, that overlooked the scene of their operations, sat down to a feast upon the fat things they had just taken as a spoil from their enemies.

Among the English slain at Medfield, were Lieut. Henry Adams, John Bowers, John Bowers, Jr., Tho-

mas Mason, Zechariah Mason, Jonathan Wood and Elizabeth Smith, all of Medfield; William Williams and John Cooper, of Boston; and Edward Jackson, of Cambridge. John Fusell of Medfield, said to have been one hundred years old, was burned in his house. Wounded,—Margaret Thurston, Samuel Thurston, Daniel Clark and Timothy Dwight, probably of Medfield; and John Gilbert, Jr., of Boston. (See Sanders's Century Sermon, and Mass. Archives.)

Elizabeth, the wife of Lieut. Henry Adams, was mortally wounded by the accidental discharge of a gun in the hands of Capt. John Jacob of Hingham. She was lying upon a bed in the chamber; Capt. Jacob was in the room below, just going to the garrison house; his gun, in the parlance of that day, was "half bent," and went off, the bullet going through the chamber floor and through the bed on which Mrs. Adams lay. Rev. Increase Mather commented thus: "It is a sign God is angry when he turns our Weapons against ourselves."

Feb. 25, 1676, the Indians burned seven houses and barns in Weymouth. (Mather.) Rev. Wm. Hubbard said seven or eight houses.

Early in March, Massachusetts and Connecticut forces were ambuscaded not far from North Hampton. One man was killed, and Rev. Gershom Buckley, of Wethersfield, Conn., wounded. (I. Mather.)

March 2, 1676, the Indians plundered several houses in Groton, and carried off a number of cattle. March 9th, they ambushed four men who were driving their carts, killed one and took a second, but while they were disputing about the manner of putting him to death, he escaped. (See Dwight's Travels, vol. ii.)

"March the 10th, mischief was done and several lives cut off by the Indians this day at Groton and Sudbury. An humbling Providence inasmuch as many

Churches were this day Fasting and Praying." (I. Mather.) Hubbard informs that two houses were burned in Billerica, March 10. "On the thirteenth about four hundred of these people assaulted Groton again. The inhabitants, alarmed by the recent destruction of Lancaster, had retreated into five garrisoned houses. Four of these were within musket shot of each other. The fifth stood at the distance of a mile. Between the four neighboring ones were gathered all the cattle belonging to the inhabitants."

In the morning two of the Indians showed themselves behind a hill near one of the four garrisons, with an intention to decoy the inhabitants out of their fortifications. "An alarm was immediately given. A considerable part of the men in this garrison, and several from the next, imprudently went out to surprise them, when a large body who had been lying in ambush for this purpose arose instantaneously and fired upon them. The English fled. Another party of the Indians at the same time came upon the rear of the nearest garrison thus deprived of its defence, and began to pull down the pallisades. The flying English retreated to the next garrison, and the women and children, forsaken as they were, escaped under the protection of Providence to the same place of safety. The ungarrisoned houses in the town were then set on fire by the savages. In a similar manner they attempted to surprise the solitary garrison, one of their people being employed to decoy the English out of it into an ambush in the neighborhood. The watch however discovering the ambush, gave the alarm. The next day the Indians withdrew, having burnt about forty dwelling houses and the church, together with barns and outhouses." (Dwight's Travels, vol. ii.) While these things were being done at Groton, Plymouth was attacked, for particulars of which see biography of Tuspaquin, in Chapter 4 of this book.

March 14, 1676, Northampton was attacked, its defences broken through in three places, and five houses and five barns burned. A large number of soldiers being quartered there the assailants soon drew off, but not until they had killed Robert Bartlett and Thomas Holton, and two other men and two women. Northampton had suffered two previous attacks; the first, Aug. 20, 1675, when Samuel Mason was slain, and the second, Sept. 28, 1675, when Praisever Turner, Uzacaby Shakespear and one other were killed.

March 16, 1676, every house in Warwick, R. I., save one that was built of stone, was burned.

March 20, 1676, the remaining houses in the Naraganset country were destroyed by fire.

Sunday, March 26, 1676, was a most sorrowful day to the English, Capt. Michael Peirse and nearly all his command being slain by the Indians near Pawtucket (for particulars see biography of Nanuntenoo alias Canonchet in Chapter 4 of this book). A number of people from Longmeadow on their way to attend public worship in Springfield, though escorted by a party of cavalry, were fired upon by the Indians, two of their number killed* and several wounded. In the confusion of the moment two women and their children fell from their horses and were seized by the Indians, and recieved injuries of which some of them died after being rescued. In another part of the colony, viz., at Marlborough, just as the Rev. Mr. Brismead was commencing his sermon, the worshipping assembly were alarmed by the appalling cry, "The Indians are upon us," followed by a fire from the enemy, wounding Moses Newton in the arm, but doing no further injury, the people quickly taking refuge in a fortified house.

* I. Mather said "there were seven or eight Indians lying in Ambuscado. They killed a Man, and a Maid that rode behind him. The Indians seized upon two women and children."

The meeting-house and many dwellings were burned. The Indians also did great damage to fruit trees, the effects of which were realized for many years. Such was the strip, waste and havoc made that the English abandoned their farms, and Marlborough was for a time left desolate.

March 28, 1676, forty-five houses, twenty-one barns, two grist mills and a saw mill were burned by the Indians at Rehoboth (that part of the town that afterward became Seekonk). The houses stood somewhat in the form of a circle, that bore the name of the "ring of the town." Only two houses were left standing, one of these being the garrison house and the other a house that had black sticks so arranged around it as to give it the appearance of being fortified. The fires were set early in the evening, and the sun of the succeeding morning revealed a line of smoking ruins. One person, an Irishman named Robert Beers, a brick-maker by trade, was slain. He refused to go into the garrison house, but set down in his own house with a bible in his hand, believing that while he continued reading that book nothing could injure him. He was shot through his window, fell and died with the bible in his hand. A chair is still preserved in the Abel family that bears the appellation of "King Philip's Chair," concerning which tradition saith that while Preserved Abel's house was burning, the Indians were seated around to enjoy the conflagration, when one of them brought from the house this large heavy armed chair for King Philip to sit in. On leaving, an Indian threw a fire brand into the chair that consumed the bottom (probably of flag), and considerably scorched the parts to which the bottom was attached, doing no further injury, and now (more than two hundred years after that event) it is still a big armed chair, or emphatically an "old armed chair."

March 30, 1676, the torch was applied at Providence, R. I., and thirty houses burned.

April 9, 1676, the Indians beset Billerica, the people being assembled at a religious meeting, and upon rather doubtful authority it is reported that one Englishman was slain. The same day Nanuntenuo alias Canonchet was captured near Pawtucket.

April 19, 1676, in Andover the Indians killed Joseph Abbot, aged 23 years; captured his brother, Timothy Abbot, aged 12 years; burned Mr. Faulkner's house; wounded Roger Marks, and killed his horse and some cattle. Same day, slew an Englishman at Weymouth and another at Hingham, and burned the remaining houses at Marlborough.

April 20, 1676, a day of humiliation and prayer was observed in Boston. Same day, the houses of Joseph Jones, Anthony Sprague, Israel Hobart and Nathaniel Chubbuck, in Hingham, were burned by the Indians.

April 21, 1676, Capt. Samuel Wadsworth, of Milton, Capt. Samuel Brocklebank, of Rowley, Lieut. Sharp, of Brookline, and about fifty soldiers were slain at Sudbury by the Indians, and several houses and barns burned. Writers disagree concerning the date of these occurrences, some contending that the 18th of April was the proper or real date.

April 24, 1676, Indian depredations at Braintree.

April 27, 1676, Woodcock's garrison house in what is now Attleborough was attacked, Woodcock's son (Nathaniel Woodcock) and one other Englishman slain, and one wounded. Woodcock the father was shot through the arm. The house of Woodcock, the son, was burned. (See Daggett's Hist. Attleborough.)

May 2, 1676, Ephraim Kingbury slain in Haverhill.

May 3, 1676, Thomas Kimball, at Bradford, was killed, and his wife and five children taken captive.

The names of the children were: Joanna, Thomas, Joseph, Priscilla and John. Philip Eastman also taken prisoner.

May 8, 1676, Bridgewater attacked (see particulars in biography of Tuspaquin).

May 11, 1676, within what were then the limits of the town of Plymouth, the Indians burned eleven houses and five barns. Plymouth then also embraced the present towns of Carver, Kingston and Plympton, and parts of Halifax and Wareham. Tuspaquin probably directed, and in person led, in that movement; and he may have ordered the destruction of Clark's Garrison at Eel River in Plymouth, which was destroyed and its inmates slain May 12, 1676, but that remarkably successful affair was accomplished by ten warriors under the lead of an Indian called Tatoson, who was a son of the noted Sam Barrow.

May 13, 1676, the Indians burned seven houses and two barns in Plymouth, which, added to those destroyed by them on the two previous days, made 18 houses and 7 barns. They also, on the 13th of May, destroyed the remaining houses at Nemasket, now Middleborough. (See Mather's History.) Thus it appears that a part of the houses in Middleborough had been destroyed at an earlier date in King Philip's War.*

May 17, 1676, two boys named Edward Stebbins and John Gilbert returned to their friends, having escaped from Indian captivity. They reported that several hundred Indians were encamped at a place now

* Some people at Middleborough insist upon the truth of a tradition that a part of the "Old Morton House" was built before King Philip's war, and if so escaped the flames May 13, 1676. The Old Morton House, with its additions, was taken down in 1870, soon after the Bi-Centennial Celebration of the incorporation of the town of Middleborough, which celebration came off October 13, 1870.

The writer of this book does not believe that a single house standing in Middleborough before King Philip's war escaped destruction dealt by the Indians, either in 1675 or 1676.

called "Turner's Falls," on the Connecticut River, and that they were not anticipating any attack, but were careless on account of their fancied security ; which information caused the immediate fitting out of an expedition for their surprise, capture and destruction. Capt. William Turner, of Boston, was, at the time, at Hatfield with about one hundred and sixty mounted men, and with these, accompanied also by Capt. Holyoke of Springfield, and Ensign Lyman of North Hampton, he set out for the Falls on the evening of May 17, 1676.

May 18, 1676, early in the morning, the English came suddenly upon the Indians while the latter were yet sleeping, in their fancied security having neglected to set a watch, and aroused them from their slumber by a discharge of musketry. Many Indians leaped into their canoes and attempted to cross the river, but were shot by the English ere they could get over, and some in their haste, omitting to take their paddles, drifted over the falls and were drowned,* while others were slain in their camp, and those who sought shelter under the shelving rocks on the bank of the river were found and killed. One hundred Indians were left dead on the ground, and one hundred and thirty-nine were drowned ; and among the sacrificed on "flood and field" were several chiefs. During all this, Capt. Turner lost but one man, and he with his dismounted infantry now returned to their horses. Meanwhile a body of Indians, encamped on the other side of the river, joined by others who were in camp on "Smead's Island," about half a mile below, united, advanced upon and attacked the English upon their left flank and rear. Capt.

* Sundry Indians, afterwards taken prisoners, agreed in the statement that many of the Indians who drifted over the falls got safe on shore again, and that the entire loss sustained by the Indians in the fight was only sixty. The English account that I have copied and herein presented is doubtless greatly exaggerated.

Holyoke, who commanded the English rear guard, with great resolution drove back the Indians, but the latter, covered by a thick morass, returned to and continued the attack along the left flank of the retiring troops. The English took an English lad who had been a captive,* who told them that King Philip with a thousand warriors was coming to the rescue, which caused a panic among the English, followed by confusion and the separation of their force into several bodies, two of which were all slain or captured by the Indians, while the others, fleeing toward Green river in a confused route, reached that stream, when Capt. Turner was killed.† Capt. Holyoke, now assumed command, continuing the retreat through a meadow on the banks of Green River, and then crossing a pine plain and Deerfield river, entered a meadow in that town still hard pressed by the Indians, and finally reached Hatfield with a loss of thirty-eight men. (See Barber's Historical Collections of Massachusetts.)‡

* Rev. Increase Mather wrote: "For an English Captive Lad who was found among the Wigwams spake as if Philip were coming with a thousand Indians, which false report being famed among the Souldiers a pannick terror fell upon many of them and they hasted homewards in a confused rout." Had these circumstances been reversed what a miraculous intervention and special providence of God should we have been asked to admit and to believe it to have been; and if it would have furnished undeniable evidence of God's care, love and protection to the white men, why not in this case admit the same was by that being exhibited towards the Indians to the great hurt of their enemies who were fighting against God?

† Rev. I. Mather said that Capt. William Turner was pursued through a river, receiving his fatal stroke as he passed through. His dead body was afterwards recovered by the English, at least so said the Rev. Mr. Hubbard.

‡ Names of Commissioned and Non-commissioned Officers, Musician and Private Soldiers, under the command of Captain William Turner, of Boston, and on duty at Hadley, Hatfield, and Springfield. Hadley soldiers from the 7th of April, 1676.

Commissioned Officer.—William Turner, *Captain*.

Non-commissioned Officers.—John Throppe and John Newman, *Sergeants*; Joseph Hartshorne and Robert Sympson, *Corporals*.

Musician.—John Chapple, *Drummer*.

Private Soldiers.—William Armes, John Strowbridge, Samuel Sybly, Thomas Jones, Robert Coates, David Hartshorne, Benjamin Poole, John

May 24, 1676, Capt. Thomas Brattle,* of Boston, with a company of cavalry about 50 in number, were joined by a body of infantry and marched to Pawtucket falls, arriving upon the Rehoboth (afterwards Seekonk) side of the stream, when they discovered a party of Indians upon the opposite bank. Leaving the infantry at the Falls, the cavalry proceeded up the river to a fording place, then coming down upon the other side, made a descent upon the Indians, killing several, cap-

Upham, Simon Grover, Stephen Grover, John Pratt, Thomas Briant, Triall Newbury, Joshua Phillips, Benjamin Chamberlin, Jonathan Chamberlin, John Luddon, John Preston, John Bill, William Chubbe, Moses Morgan, Roger Jones, John Wiseman, Philip Jessup, Joseph Griffin, Josiah Man, Thomas Chard, John Shepherd, Ephraim Roper, Nicholas Duerell, Philip Cattline, Joseph Chamberlin, Richard Snodin, Joseph Smith, Joseph Bodman, William Turner.

Stationed at the mill.—Robert Seares, Samuel Rawlins, John Sawdy, Jonathan Duninge, Samuel Davies, John Fisher, Thomas Cobbett, Thomas Sympkins, Richard Lever.

Hampton Soldiers.—*Sergeant*, Esaiiah Toy; *Corporal*, John Wilde; *Privates*, John Smith, John Babson, John Whitridge, John Ashdown, John Roulestone, John Langbury, John Foster, John Watson, John Chaplin, John Belcher, John Stukely, John Boyd, John Walker, John Roberts, Martin Smith, Abraham Shaw, Thomas Roberts, Richard Hudson, Samuel Ransford, Joseph Fowler, Solomon Loud, William Jaques, Jacob Burton, William Smith, Nicholas Mason, Philip Mattoon, Samuel South, Thomas Lyon, Robert Price, Thomas Poore, Peter Bushrod, Samuel Vesey, William Willis, Thomas Harris, George Bewly, William Howard, Philip Lewis, William Hopkins, William Hunt, Samuel Tyly, James Burrell, William Hartford, Ephraim Beeres, Richard Bever and John Fiske, the last named reported wounded.

Hatfield Soldiers.—Robert Bardwell, Samuel Laine, Benjamin Barrett, Hugh Goliko, Anthoney Baker, John Larkin, Richard Staines, Nicholas Gray, John Allen, Richard Smith, William Elliot, John Wilkins, John Jones, Thomas Staines, Gilbert Forsyth, Benjamin Lathrop, Robert Dawes, Hugh Pike, Daniel Stearlin, John Verin, Jonathan Nichols, James Verin, John Downing, Joseph Moringe, John Cooke, John Hix, John Salter, Jeremiah Cloather, John Arnold, Simon Williams, Daniel Clow, Edward Bishop, Henry Reynor, Samuel Neale, Jeffrey Jeffers, Hugh Price, Archibald Forrest, Jabesh Duncan, John Hughs, William Batt, Walter Hixson, Jabesh Musgrove, Mathew Groves, Anthoney Ravenscraft, James Molt.

Sent to Springfield.—*Sergeant* Roger Proffer; *Private Soldiers*, Ely Crow, William Briggs, Jeremiah Norcrosse, William Mitchell, Timothy Frogie, Onisephorus Stanly, William Crane, Henry Willis.

RICHARD FRANCIS, CLERK.

(See Mass. Archives, Book 68, Folio 212.)

* Capt. Thomas Brattle became a member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in 1675.

turing an Indian boy, and taking two horses, several guns, some ammunition, kettles and other things. One cavalry soldier was killed in this action, and Lieut. Jacob Elliott wounded in the hand. They took the dead soldier across the river and buried him. (See Mass. Colonial Records, vol. v. page 97).*

May 30, 1676, twelve houses and barns were fired at Hatfield, many cattle killed, nearly all the sheep driven away. Five Englishmen were killed and three wounded. The names of three of the five slain were, Johoma Smith, Richard Hall and John Smith. Two of the wounded, John Stoe and Roger Alvis.

June 7, 1676, English forces captured 29 Indians near Lancaster, and killed seven more. These Indians were surprised while fishing in Weshacom Ponds.

June 12, 1676, Hadley was attacked by a force of about seven hundred Indians who had collected there during the preceding night, and opened the battle at day-light in the morning. (Barber's Historical Collections of Massachusetts, page 325.) Rev. Increase Mather said: "The Enemy assaulted Hadley in the morning. Sun an hour high, three Souldiers going out of the Town without their Arms were dissuaded therefrom by a Serjeant, who stood at the Gate, but they alleading that they intended not to go far were suffered to pass; within a while the Serjeant apprehended that he heard some men running, and looking over the Fortification he saw twenty Indians pursuing those three men who were so terrified that they could not cry out; two of them were at last killed and the other so

* Rev Increase Mather wrote: "The Indians betook themselves to a River and had not some Foot Souldiers on the other side of the River too suddenly discovered themselves probably there had been greater slaughter of the enemy who hasted out of the river again and fled into a swamp where there was no pursuing of them." The Rev. Increase Mather did not say that this blunder on the part of the infantry was a special providence of God in behalf of the Indians; but, had the circumstances been reversed, doubtless it would have been recognized and regarded as a mark of God's favor to the white men.

mortally wounded as that he lived not above two or three dayes ; wherefore the Serjeant gave the Alarme."

Mr. Barber, in *Historical Collections*, says : "The English, turning out, received them at the palisades. The Indians gained possession of a house at the north end of the street, and fired a barn, but were in a short time driven back with loss. The attack was renewed on other points, and the Indians, though warmly opposed, appeared determined on carrying the place ; but a discharge of a piece of ordinance checked their fury, and their ambuscade failing of their object, which was to attack the people who might be driven from the village, they drew off."

"Major Talcott, at Northampton, hearing the attack, hurried on, passed the river, and joining the Hadley forces, precipitated the Indians into the woods." Barber says the loss on the part of the Indians could not be ascertained. Mather said : "The English could find but three dead Indians."

I. Mather writes concerning the 15th of June, 1676, "This day was seen at Plymouth the perfect form of an Indian Bow in the aire, which the Inhabitants of that place (at least some of them) look upon as a Prodigious Apparition."

June 19, 1676, Swansea again attacked and all the remaining houses save five (of which four were garri-sons) were burned.

June 20, 1676, Connecticut forces returned home to recruit, intending the next week to return and join the Massachusetts forces at Brookfield.

June 26, 1676, Hezekiah Willet,* aged 25 years, a son of Capt. Thomas Willet, was slain by the Indians in Swansea.

* Mr. Henry Trumbull, in his history of Indian wars in New England, says, on page 62 of that work : "The Indians took a Mr. Willet prisoner near Swanzey, and after cutting off his nose and ears, set him at liberty "

July 11, 1676, a party of Indians assaulted Taunton with little success; a negro that had been captured by the Indians at Swansea escaping the week before, warned Taunton people of the intended attack. The Indians fired two houses and killed one of the English. The negro that escaped is thought to have been a slave of Capt. Thomas Willet.

July 22, 1676, Mather informs us that some "Companies returned from Mount Hope to Boston. And albeit they have not attained that which was the main end proposed in their going forth sc. the Apprehension of Philip." Rev. William Hubbard thus treats of that affair. "The companies sent from Concord, May 30, up towards Hadly having spent much time in pursuit of Philip, all the country over having tired themselves with many long and tedious marches through the desert woods; before they returned home some of them were sent toward Mount Hope." Those companies were joined by the company of infantry under Captain Samuel Moseley, the company of cavalry under Capt. Thomas Prentice, and a company of infantry from Plymouth Colony under Major William Bradford—thus making no inconsiderable force that united in searching for King Philip at and near Mount Hope. Though they did not take Philip, they killed and captured about one hundred and fifty Indians. I. Mather said the English lost but one man in the expedition. Rev. William Hubbard said it was accomplished "with the loss of never an Englishman." Both authorities were clergymen, both lived and wrote at the date of the occurrence, and both pretended to know and yet told different stories, each flatly contradicting the other.

July 27, 1676, "one of the Nipmuck Sachims, called Sagamore John, came to Boston and submitted himself to the mercy of the English, bringing in about an hundred and four score Indians with him. And

that, so he might ingratiate himself with the English, he apprehended Matoonas and his son and brought them to Boston."* (See Increase Mather's Brief History.) July 31, 1676, Akkompoin, a brother of "good old Massasoit," and uncle to King Philip, when attempting to cross over Taunton river upon a large tree that the Indians had felled across that stream, was fired upon by some Bridgewater people and killed, as were also several other Indians, his companions. The English fired from ambush. A sister of King Philip was captured the same day. (See Appendix.)

August 1, 1676, Wootonekanuse, the wife of King Philip, and their son about nine years of age, together with divers other Indian women and children, were taken prisoners by the English. Increase Mather, in commenting on this loss sustained by the great chieftain, said: "It must needs be bitter as death to him to loose his Wife and only son for the Indians are marvelously fond and affectionate towards their children." The Rev. Mather also said: "Thus hath God brought that grand enemy into great misery before he quite destroy him," from which the pious divine would seem to desire to have us understand that God not only delights to torment the creatures that he has made, but that the supreme being takes a malicious pleasure in subjecting them to the anguish of "slow torture." Under date of August 3, 1676, the Rev. Increase Mather gravely recorded: "God opened the bottles of Heaven and caused it to rain," and from the moroseness exhibited by the clerical gentleman when noting down the occurrence of two days before, one may perhaps be excusable for suspecting that he had been en-

* Rev. Increase Mather informs us that Matoonas "was condemned to immediate death," that he "was carried out into the Common at Boston and there tied to a Tree, the Sachim who had now submitted himself with several of his men shot him to death." The clergyman then added some pious talk, saying: "Thus did the Lord retaliate."

gaged in opening bottles containing liquids less harmless than pure rain water, for the spirit that he exhibits we candidly think is much more like that of "bad rum" than pure and undefiled religion.*

August 6, 1676, "An Indian that deserted his Fellows informed the inhabitants of Taunton that a party of Indians who might be easily surprised were not very far off, and promised to conduct any that had a mind to apprehend those Indians in the right way towards them; whereupon about twenty Souldiers marched out to Taunton and they took all those Indians being in number thirty and six only the Squaw Sachem of Pocasset who was next unto Philip in respect to the mischief that hath been done and the blood that hath been shed in this Warr escaped alone; but not long after some of Taunton finding an Indian Squaw in Metapoiset newly dead cut off her head and it hapned to be Weetamoo i. e. Squaw Sathem her head."

This account of the capture of thirty-six Indians and the finding of the dead body of the Indian Queen Weetamoo, is copied *verbatim et literatim* from Rev. Increase Mather's brief history of the war with the Indians in New England. Allusion has already been made to this affair on pages 49 and 50 of this book, but we did not there state upon which side of Taunton river her dead body drifted on shore.

Metapoiset, so called by the Indians, and where Weetamoo's corpse was found, is now known as Gardi-

* The reader will please observe that this allusion to rain, most vulgarly expressed, was by the Rev. Increase Mather brought into the current events of King Philip's war, and to show that it had an intimate connection therewith, he went on to relate that the Indians had been powowing for rain with none effect, but when the Rev. Mr. Fitch of Norwich prayed, it rained that very night, or in other words "God opened the bottles." The harvest was threatened by the drought till this bottle business began. Now why had not the pious Mather prayed? and if he had, who knows that it was not in answer to his prayer that this rain came?

Had it been for fire from heaven to destroy instead of rain to bless, the writer thinks Mather would have been just the party to pray. He would have been at home in such a business, or else I mistake.

ner's Neck, and is in the ancient township of Swansea. To the foregoing account, Mather added: "She herself could not meet with a Canoo but venturing over the River upon a Raft that brake under her so that she was drowned just before the English found her."

August 10, 1676, Potock, chief councillor to the squaw sachem of Narraganset, was captured by some Rhode Island people, and by them brought to Boston. (I. MATHER.) Mr. Drake, in his book of the Indians, says that the residence of "Potok" was in the vicinity of Point Judith. He surrendered himself voluntarily to the people of Rhode Island, who sent him to Boston, where, after answering all their inquiries, he was put to death without ceremony.

In one account, carried to London at the time, we find this assertion:—"There is one Potuck a mischievous Engine and Counsellor taken formerly said to be in Gaol at Rhode Island is now sent to Boston and there shot to death."

NOTE.—In a treaty that was once concluded between the English and the Narraganset Indians, the chief Potock asked to have inserted "that the English should not send any among them [i. e. the Indians] to preach the gospel, or call upon them to pray to God." This request on the part of the chief may at first sight, and to our first thoughts on the matter, seem strange as well as unreasonable, and even, perhaps, wicked; but let us refer to the testimony of that great and good man, that apostle of both civil and religious liberty, the Rev. Roger Williams, and let us hear what he said touching such a matter, before rendering our judgment against Potock and his request, for at this day and age of the world we need no better commentary on that matter than the testimony of Roger Williams.

In a letter dated at Providence, 5: 8: 1654, Mr. W. wrote to the governor of the colony of Mass. as follows: "At my last departure for England I was importuned by y^e Narraganset sachems and especially by Nenecunat to present their

petition to the high sachems of England that they might not be forced from their religion; and for not changing their religion, be invaded by war. For they said they were daily visited with threatnings by Indians that came from about the Massachusetts, that if they would not pray they should be destroyed by war." The Rev. Mr. Williams continued: "Are not all the English of this land a persecuted people from their native soil? and hath not the God of peace and Father of mercies made the natives more friendly in this than our native countrymen in our own land to us? have they not entered leagues of love and to this day continued peaceable commerce with us? Are not our families grown up in peace amongst them? Upon which I humbly ask how it can suit with Christian ingenuity, to take hold of some seeming occasions for their destruction." That the English might not have for an excuse "seeming occasions" instead of real ones for the destruction of Potock and his people, that chief made the singular but nevertheless very reasonable request already noticed. Canting hypocrites had succeeded too long and by far too well in robbing and slaying the Indians "in the name of the Lord." When the Indian changed his religion he wanted to do it for a better religion, instead of a worse one, a religion not so totally devoid of the "peaceable fruits of righteousness," as that which was repeatedly and continually made the occasion of an aggressive war upon him. Yes, the Indian desired just what the "sons and daughters of the Pilgrims" boast that their emigrant ancestors prized above every other earthly blessing,

"FREEDOM TO WORSHIP GOD;"

not as somebody else desired and chose to direct them, but according to the dictates of their own conscience.

Now if such sentiments were virtuous and withal highly commendable in white people, why not in Indians? But the truth is that a more unqualified falsehood was never uttered than that the generality of the emigrant settlers of the colonies of Plymouth and Mass. Bay were advocates of the high and holy principle, "Freedom to worship God;" but on the contrary a more illiberal, intolerant and bigoted set of beings never found an abiding place on the face of the earth, or exercised more religious tyranny according to the

amount of power that they possessed, since the earth had a written history; and though the Indians were great sufferers, they were not the only sufferers from their misguided zeal.

August 12, 1676.—This was perhaps in reality the most memorable of all the days of King Philip's war, being the date at which he sealed his devotion to the principles of pure patriotism with his life's blood; having before sacrificed on the altar of his country's freedom nearly all that men usually hold near and dear. He had already been reduced to poverty in every thing almost save principle, and had nothing more to give but his dying efforts to save his country from the white man's covetous grasp, and the small remnant of his people from a most degrading bondage. All that man could give to save his country, King Philip cheerfully contributed:—property, power, his best and unyielding efforts, unabated even when deprived of wife, child, kindred, and nearly all his followers and friends; and last of all he gave his life. What patriot ever could do or ever did more? At the date of King Philip's death his forces had become so much reduced in numbers that he was being constantly driven from place to place, and early on the morning of Saturday, August 12, 1676, Capt. Church and the soldiers under his command found King Philip, and the small but faithful remnant of his once powerful band, in a swamp near Mount Hope, or what was then called Pokanoket, now Bristol, R. I. The knowledge that this place was his temporary refuge was communicated to the English by a traitorous Indian called Alderman.

Capt. Benjamin Church, in his history of this transaction, printed in 1716, says: "there was just now tidings from Mount Hope; an Indian came down from thence where Philip's camp now is, on to Sandy Point over against Trip's and hallooed and made signs to be brought over, and being brought he reported that he

was fled from Philip who said he has killed my brother just before I came away for giving some advice that displeased him. He said he had fled for fear of meeting with the same fate his brother had met with. He told them also that Philip was then in Mount Hope Neck, upon a little spot of upland that was in the south end of the miry swamp just at the foot of the mount."

Among those Englishmen who accompanied Captain Benjamin Church on this expedition, which was set out on foot at the receipt of this intelligence, was Capt. Peleg Sanford and Capt. Roger Goulding, both of Rhode Island, and Capt. John Williams of what is now Scituate, Mass. They arrived on the outskirts of the swamp about midnight, when to Capt. Roger Goulding was assigned the task of "beating up Philip's headquarters," as they termed it, or, in other words, finding those quarters and drawing the Indians into an action or a general engagement, or putting them to flight if they declined a battle. An allotted number of Church's soldiers were drawn out and assigned to the command of Capt. Goulding, who was also furnished with a pilot well acquainted with the ground.

Church's instructions to Capt. Goulding were to be very careful in his approach to Philip and his warriors, and to be sure not to be discovered by them until daylight, telling Goulding that his (Church's) custom in the like cases was to creep until they came as near as they could, and that as soon as the Indians discovered them to cry out, which was the watch word for his men to fire. Church also "directed him, when the enemy should start and take into the swamp, they should pursue with speed, every man shouting and making what noise they could, for he (Church) would give orders to his ambuscade to fire on any that should come silently." Church then stationed the remainder

of his soldiers in advantageous positions around the swamp to intercept the Indians who should flee before the soldiers under Goulding and seek safety on the upland, assigning the right wing of these sentinels to the command of Capt. John Williams, of Scituate.

One of King Philip's men, who was probably at that time sent out as a scout to learn if all was well, came suddenly upon Captain Goulding, who fired on the Indian, whereupon all Goulding's men fired upon those Indians in the shelter, before the latter had time to arise upon their feet, and so overshot them, doing no particular injury to any of the Indians.

Church informs us that the Indians' shelter was built like a shed, being left open on the side next to the swamp for the convenience of escape in case of surprise. The shelter was probably made of the boughs of trees laid upon a frame work of sticks, and perhaps in part covered with skins, to protect the inmates from the rain. At any rate it appears to have been constructed differently from the ordinary wigwam, and afforded to the occupants several other advantages over that style of Indian house, for doubtless it was much larger, thus allowing a greater number of Indian warriors to lodge together, and of course that made it easier to rally them, and to command their ready and united action in case of an attack, and the Indians seem to have availed themselves of each and every of these advantages when that attack came; though it must be confessed that Philip and his followers were taken somewhat by surprise, and fired on in their shelter as the first intimation that the English in force were upon them.

In the attempt that the Indians now made to escape, Capt. Church informs us that King Philip took time only to throw "his petunk and powder horn over his head and caught up his gun," and "without any more cloths than his small breeches and stockings ran directly

on two of Capt. Church's ambush. They let him come fair within shot, and the Englishman's gun missing fire he bid the Indian fire away and he did so to purpose, sent one musket bullet through his heart and another not over two inches from it. He fell upon his face in the mud and water with his gun under him. By this time the enemy perceiving they were waylaid on the east side of the swamp tacked short about." It was now and under these disastrous circumstances that the aged sub-chief, the long faithful and still reliable Annawon, first came to the notice of Captain Church, his attention being attracted to the veteran Indian warrior by the brave efforts of the latter to bring order out of the momentary confusion that reigned among the Indians, to recover them from their surprise and cause them to end their retreat by turning upon their pursuers; and "Iootash, Iootash," loudly repeated by the aged chief, caused Capt. Church to ask his Indian ally Peter who that was that called so, who answered, "It was old Annawon, Philip's great Captain, calling on his soldiers to stand to it and fight stoutly." The Indian that had slain King Philip ran with all speed to Capt. Church and informed him concerning what he had done, but was told to be silent about it and let no one else know it until they had driven the Indians from the swamp. With the numerous advantages that the English possessed, had the Indians been under a less able commander than Annawon, probably the red men would then and there have been all killed or captured; but as it was, Annawon, by deceiving the English with some pretended show of fight, at the same time conducted a most successful retreat through a place on the border of the swamp that Church had left unguarded, and nearly all were thus enabled to escape. The English, finding further pursuit of no avail, all came together at the Indian shelter, where this engagement

began, when Capt. Church for the first time communicated to them intelligence of that momentous event, the slaying of King Philip, and at the same time ordered the body of the dead chieftain (till then unmoved) to be pulled out of the mud and mire of the swamp where he had fallen to adjoining upland. This was performed by some of the Indians then serving under Church, some seizing hold of the stockings and others the breeches, and thus ruthlessly dragging the corpse of the fallen monarch through mud and water to the shore.

And now was enacted a scene thoroughly brutal in every feature of its character, and so disgraceful to the participants, that could I as a faithful historian do justice to the truth by altogether omitting each and every of its disgusting details I would most gladly do so, for it shames me to reflect that I am of the same blood and race with the Englishman who could permit such an audacious outrage against the most ordinary claims of humanity and common decency, to say nothing of suggesting and putting on foot the commission of the heinous offence. And even worse than all, after more than forty years of calm reflection had allowed the exercise of sober second thoughts, that he should boast of the commission of the crime as something to be proud of, and for which he expected to receive the praises of others, shows such an utter want of all the higher qualities, the refined and refining sentiments that distinguish men from brutes, the image of God from that of beasts and creeping things, that I have no words sufficiently to express my detestation of the act, or the contempt that I feel for the man whose heart was base enough to order its commission and even to boast of what ought ever after to have caused him to hide his face in shame and spend the remainder of his life in a repentance that needs not to be repented of. The body of the fallen hero—"every inch a King"—

the chief of Pokanoket, having thus ruthlessly been dragged through the mud and water of the swamp to the shore, let us consider the conduct of the "Christian Soldier" Capt. Benjamin Church, as related by himself, and sent forth to the world through the medium of the printing press forty years after the occurrence. He said that, "calling his old Indian executioner," he (Church) bid him behead and quarter him (i. e. Philip). Capt. Church, as all know who have read his book concerning this war, which book was printed in 1716, was largely addicted to pious pratings, and here is a specimen of the salt with which he savored his pretensions to practical godliness. As he gazed upon the dead body of the slain chief, who had sacrificed all he had and was, except his title to the undying fame of a pure patriot, to save his country, the canting Church says that he solemnly declared "that not one of his (Philip's) bones should be buried," and further informs us that the old Indian executioner, the red heathen, "came and stood over him" (Philip), "but before he struck he made a small speech directing it to Philip, &c." Church thus continued: "And so he went to work, and did as he was ordered." Yes, the red heathen mutilated the corpse as ordered by the white Christian. What a comment does the transaction afford? Well may we ask, what is heathenism, what is civilization, what is christianity?

One of King Philip's hands had been much scarred by the bursting of a loaded pistol several years before, and after the beheading and quartering of the dead body of the chief in compliance with the express orders of the pious Church, that hand was by his direction cut off and given to the Indian who shot him, as was also the chief's head, that, as said the pennywise Capt. Church, the Indian who shot him might show these "to such gentlemen as would bestow gratuities upon him,"

and in the contemplation of which the Captain's penurious soul received comfort; for he said (forty years after), "and accordingly he got many a penny by it," which to conceptions like those of Church was reason enough for the commission of the dirty deed of dismembering, and the detestable business of turning showman of the mutilated remains of the dead chief. Said one of the bible heroes, "I have been young but now I am old, yet have I never seen the righteous forsaken or his seed begging bread;" and again we are assured that God's blessings are conferred not only upon his faithful followers, but descend to their seed, whereby children's children are made to rejoice in the God of their fathers. But how is this verified if we consider this Capt. Benjamin Church to be a righteous man, and place that in the light of his complaints of the oft repeated and even studied neglect by his countrymen, and the calling for a day of public humiliation, fasting and prayer* because God had refused to bless, yea more, had actually frowned upon, his military efforts, and the continued and most shameful begging that his son† (who was his amanuensis) indulged in for the father in his book published in 1716, and especially the significant fact of what only a century later, viz., in 1775, befel his grandson that bore up the christian- as well as the sur-name of this officer who ordered shameful indignities to the corpse of King Philip, being as he was altogether too grovelling in his sentiments to realize a particle of

"The stern joy that warriors feel
In foemen worthy of their steel."

* See his allusion to this in the letter that he addressed to "Gentlemen in the Eastward Parts," dated November 27, 1690.

† The name of that son was Thomas Church. He was born in 1674. Soon after the death of the father, the importunities of his son or sons induced the colonial authorities to bestow some lands upon them for what they claimed were the *unrequited* services of Capt. Benjamin Church in the Indian Wars.

That grandson, viz., Dr. Benjamin Church, of Boston, ranked as a compatriot of the martyred Gen. Warren (but was doubtless greatly over-rated), and no more worthy of such a position than was Judas Iscariot to be ranked among the Apostles ; being detected as he was in a traitorous correspondence with the enemy. The letter to the enemy, written in cypher, was by Church entrusted to his harlot or kept mistress, to be by her forwarded to Gen. Gage, the British commander. It was found upon her ; she was taken to the American head-quarters and there the contents of the letter were decyphered, and the defection of Dr. Benjamin Church established. He was found guilty by a court martial of criminal correspondence with the enemy, expelled from his place as a member of the Mass. House of Representatives, and placed in close confinement in the jail at Norwich, Conn. On the scroll of our country's history stands conspicuously inscribed, "BENJAMIN CHURCH OF BOSTON WAS THE FIRST TRAITOR TO THE AMERICAN CAUSE," and his name must forever be indissolubly linked with that of Benedict Arnold, his follower and imitator. Were we a Mather, doubtless we should say, "thus doth the Lord retaliate."

The three authorities now most generally known, and by far the most frequently quoted by writers of the present time when describing the events of King Philip's war, are histories written by Rev. Increase Mather of Boston, Rev. William Hubbard of Ipswich, and Benjamin Church of Little Compton. Thomas Church, a son of Benjamin, put the story of his father in a readable form, but the facts were detailed to him by word of mouth from the father, who, in an introduction to that work, said : "Having my minutes by me, my son has taken the care and pains to collect from them the ensuing narrative ;" by which it can at once be seen that with these minutes made near the dates of the

several transactions, together with the verbal additions and explanations of the chief participant therein, Thomas Church enjoyed great advantages in preparing an extended, minute and truthful history, as doubtless in many respects it is. The first edition of Church's history was printed at Boston in 1716, or about forty years, as already mentioned, after the close of King Philip's war. It was reprinted in Newport, R. I., in 1772, and several editions have since appeared. Rev. Increase Mather's history of the war was first printed at Boston in 1676; and a second edition was printed in London, for Richard Chiswell, at the sign of the Rose and Crown in Saint Paul's Church yard the same year. Rev. William Hubbard's history of these events was printed soon after Mr. Mather's, and went through three editions within a century—the third edition being issued from a press at Boston in 1775, and has now passed through at least seven editions, and perhaps more.

These three historic works have been "the three witnesses" oftenest called upon the stand to testify of those things that then came to pass; but there were other works concerning the matter issued at about the same time with these or a few years later, among which may properly be mentioned the Rev. Cotton Mather's account of King Philip's War, that he entered in his *MAGNALIA* about the year 1696; but this, said the late Mr. Samuel G. Drake, though prepared at "a time when a good History of the War was practicable, yet it contains no Marks of Care and Pains taking." Mr. Drake continued, "Much of what is delivered in it is drawn from Mr. Hubbard's work, without so much as a word in acknowledgment," by which it would appear that this clergyman was not above filching from his brother minister. Of Mather's *Magnalia*, Mr. Drake wrote: "His *Magnalia* is a stupendous Monument of

Learning, Piety, Absurdity, and, I had almost said, Frivolity. Though he entitles it an Ecclesiastical History of New England, had we met it without a Title we might have been exceedingly puzzled to assign one for it."

Beside these four historic accounts of King Philip's War, was "A relation of the Indyan Warr by Mr. Easton of Rhoad Island 1675," commencing thus: "A True Relation of what I kno & of Reports & my Understanding concerning the Begining & Progress of the War now between the English and the Indians." The author was John Easton, who emigrated to New England in the spring of 1634, and settling first at Ipswich, Mass., in 1638 removed to Rhode Island to escape the religious intolerance that as a consciencious quaker he was made to suffer in Massachusetts. He settled at Newport, and was chosen governor's assistant in 1640 and 1643, and from 1650 to 1652, and again in 1654, he was President under the first colonial charter. From 1672 to 1674 he held the office of Governor of Rhode Island. He died at Newport in 1675. Governor John Easton's history contained the following concerning the breaking out of King Philip's war (see F. B. Hough's edition of that work printed at Albany by J. Munsell):

But for four Yeares Time Reports and Iealosys of War had bin veri frequent y^t we did not think y^t now a War was breaking forth; but about a Week before it did we had Case to think it wold. Then to indever to prevent it we sent a Man to Philip y^t if he wold cum to the Fery we wold cum over to speke with him. About four Miles we had to cum thither our Messenger cum to them; they not aware of it behaved themselves as furious, but sudingly apeased when they understood who he was and what he came for, he called his Counsell and agreed to cum to us; came himself unarmed and about 40 of his Men armed. Then 5 of us went over, 3 wear Magistrates. We sate veri friendly together. We told him

our bisnes was to indever that they might not reseue or do Rong. They said that was well; they had dun no Rong, the English ronged them. We said we knew the English said the Indians ronged them and the Indians said the English ronged them, but our Desier was the Quarrell might rightly be desided in the best Way and not as Dogs desided their Quarrells. The Indians owned y^t fighting was the worst Way; then they propounded how Right might take Place. We said by Arbitration. They said that all English agreed against them and so by Arbitration they had much Rong; mani Miles square of Land so taken from them, for English wold have English Arbitrators; and once they were persuaded to give in their Armes y^t thereby Jealousy might be removed, and the English having their Arms wold not deliver them as they had promised untill they consented to pay 100 £ and now they had not so much Sum or Muny; thay wear as good be kiled as leave all ther Liueflyhode. We said they might chuse a Indian King and the English might chuse the Governor of New Yorke, y^t nether had Case to say either wear Parties in the Diferance. They said they had not heard of y^t Way and said we onestly spoke so we wear perswaided if y^t Way had bine tendered they would have acsepted. We did endeaver not to hear their Complaints, said it was not convenient for us now to consider of, but to indever to prevent War; said to them when in War against English, Blood was spilt y^t ingaged att Englishmen, for we wear to be all under one King; we knew what their Complaints wold be, and in our Colony had removed some of them in sending for Indian Rulers in what the Crime concerned Indians Lives which thay veri lovingly acsepted, and agreed with us to their Execution, and said so they were abell to satisfie their Subjects when they knew an Indian sufered duly, but said in what was only between their Indians and not in Touneshipes y^t we purchased they wold not have us prosecute and y^t thay had a great Fear to have ani of ther Indians should be caled or forced to be Christian Indians. Thay said y^t such wer in everi thing more mischievous, only Disemblers and then the English made them not subject

to ther Kings and by thier lying to rong ther Kings. We knew it to be true and we promising them y^t however in Government to Indians all should be alike and y^t we knew it was our King's will it should be so, y^t altho we wear weaker than other Colonies they having submitted to our King to protect them, others dared not otherwise to molest them; expressed they took that to be well that we had littell Case to doute, but that to us under the King they would have yielded to our Determinations in what ani should have complained to us against them. But Philip charged it to be disonesty in us to put of the Hering to iust Complaints, therefore we consented to hear them. Thay said thay had bine the first in doing Good to the English and the English the first in doing Rong; said when the English first came, their King's Father was as a great Man and the English as a littell Child; he constrained other Indians from ronging the English and gave them Corn and shewed them how to plant, and was free to do them ani Good and had let them have a 100 Times more Land than now the King had for his own Peopell. But ther Kings Brother when he was King came miserably to dy being forced to Court, as they iudge poysoned. And another Greavance was if 20 of there onest Indians testified that a Englishman had dun them Rong it was as nothing, and if but one of their worst Indians testified against any Indian or ther King when it pleased the English it was sufittant. Another Grievance was when their King sold Land, the English wold say it was more than they agreed to, and a Writing must be prove against all them and sum of their Kings had dun Rong to sell so much. He left his Peopell none, and sum being given to Drunkness the English made them drunk and then cheated them in Bargains but now ther Kings wear forwarned not for to part with Land for nothing in Cumparison to the Value thereof. Now home the English had owned for King or Queen they wold disinheret and make another King that wold give or sell them these Lands; that now they had no Hopes left to kepe ani Land. Another Grievance, the English Catell and Horses still incresed; that when thay removed 30 Mill from where English had ani

thing to do thay could not kepe ther Corn from being spoyled thay never being iused to fence and thost when the English bost Land of them thay wold have kept their Catell upon ther owne Land. Another Grievance, the English were so eager to sell the Indians Lickers y^t most of the Indians spent all in Drynknes and then raneved upon the sober Indians and thay did believe often did hurt the English Catell and ther King could not prevent it. We knew before, these were their grand Complaints, but we only indevered to persuaid y^t all Cumplaints be righted without War, but could have no other Answer but that thay had not heard of that Way for the Governor of Yorke and an Indian King to have the Hearing of it. We had Case to think in y^t had bine tendered it wold have bine acsepted. We indevered y^t however thay should lay doune the War, for the English wear to strong for them; thay said then the English should do to them as they did when thay wear to strong for the English. So we departed without ani Discurtiousness and sudingly had Letter from Plimoth Governor thay intended in Arms to conforem Philip, but no Information what y^t was thay required or wt Termes he refused to have their Quarrell desided; and in a Weke's Time after we had bine with the Indians thus begun."

Governor Easton then proceeded to give an account of the first acts of hostility, which does not materially differ from that we have related in another part of this book. Governor Easton's book stirred the ire of Rev. Increase Mather, who said of a Narrative of King Philip's war "written by a Merchant of Boston" and published in London:—"the abounding mistakes therein caused" him "to think it necessary that a true history of this affair should be published. Whilst I was doing this there came to my hands another Narrative of this War written by a Quaker in Road Island who pretends to know the Truth of things, but that Narrative being fraught with worse things than meer mistakes I was thereby quickened to expedite what I had in hand."

IV.

PHILIP'S CHIEF CAPTAINS.

IN writing the lives of distinguished men, and particularly those in whose personal history military achievements form the main feature, it has often been found convenient, and in fact nearly indispensable, to enter to some extent upon the biographies of others who were their chief assistants and reliable friends; and hence we have seen the works entitled "Napoleon and his Marshals," "Washington and his Generals," and so on. In fact, this course has been so long pursued by writers and approved by readers, that the author of this little book need offer no apology for making his humble effort in Indian History, Biography and Genealogy to be a true story of METACOM (*alias* PHILIP) AND HIS CHIEF CAPTAINS—brave leaders upon the war path, noble sufferers in a thoroughly just though an irretrievably "lost cause."

Now whether these aiders, abettors and followers of the great Wampanoag sachem, like the disciples* of Jesus Christ whom we have been taught to honor with the title of "Apostles," ever entered upon the disreputable contest among themselves as to who should be accounted the greatest, we do not know; but we presume that their business in hand was of so much greater moment that they did not. For upon them devolved the destiny not only of themselves but of their entire race, and they were, therefore, from necessity, if not by inclination, led to

"——— leave all meaner things
To low ambition and the pride of kings."

* "But they held their peace, for by the way they had disputed among themselves who should be the greatest." (See Mark, chap. ix. v. 34.)

It is, perhaps, comparatively non-essential in the enumeration of these chief captains of Philip, that we trouble ourselves to study and so criticize the character, judge of the natural or acquired ability or even the practice, of each, as to be qualified to name them in such order that the first may not be mentioned last, or the last first. Each was good for the service he sought to perform—at least, good in a reasonable degree; and comparisons, which are proverbially “odious,” would in this case be difficult, and in the eye of justice at this date nearly impossible.

That we commence our personal descriptions with a particular chief, therefore, does not signify that we consider him greater than another whose biography shall occupy our thoughts and engage our pen afterward.

Without further preliminary, let us enter upon the biographies of these chief captains, commencing with the Narraganset sachem, Nanuntenoo, better known to readers of history under the name of

CANONCHET.

This chief was a son of Miantunnomoh, grandson of Mascus, grand-nephew of Canonicus, and nephew of Otash, Mossup and Canjanaquond. At the date of King Philip's war, Nanuntenoo, alias Canonchet, was chief sachem of the then powerful tribe called the Narragansets. This tribe, it is said, was to have furnished four thousand warriors to aid King Philip in the great conflict that he had planned against the whites, but one of the stipulations of that contract was that those hostilities on the part of the Indians should not commence until 1676, or about one year later than they actually occurred. Doubtless the time when this assistance was to have been afforded was that set by Philip, when, to have been successful, the war should

have commenced, and when, too, could Philip have restrained the rashness of his youthful warriors, it would have begun. Conduct is as essential as courage in war, and King Philip lacked neither, though many of his youthful warriors were entirely deficient in the former, and when that chief could curb their misguided zeal no longer, he consented to what he could not avoid and deeply deplored, although he foresaw the suicidal tendency of commencing unprepared. Not so, however, was it with Nanuntenoo, who, with his Narragansets, hesitated and for a considerable time delayed to assume the responsibility of joining in the ill-timed movements of the short-sighted Wampanoags.

That hesitation and delay came near proving fatal to Philip and his cause at the very commencement of hostilities, and this it was that made it necessary for him to fight on the defensive, and continually retreat at every advance of the English army. With the four thousand Narragansets added to his band, Philip could have maintained his situation at Pokanoket, and this was unquestionably what he had intended to do.* Yea, more, he could have carried the scenes of blood and fire into the heart of the English settlements, and the white instead of the red man would have been put entirely on the defensive—the English instead of the Indians would speedily have been upon the retreat—Plymouth, perhaps, instead of Pokonoket, occupied by an enemy.

* It was reported, upon what seems creditable authority, that when King Philip and his tribe evacuated Pokanoket, and the region adjacent to Mount Hope, they left about one thousand acres of growing corn. That evacuation took place during the last days of June, 1675. The corn must have been planted late in April or early in May, say some seven weeks before that evacuation. The Indians would not have planted a thousand acres of corn had they anticipated the evacuation, or seen any prospect for the fruits of that labor to fall into the hands of their enemies. So it is not reasonable to suppose that evacuation had been long thought of before being put into practice.

Few readers of history ever stop to consider the disadvantages under which the great sachem of Pokonoket labored at the commencement of the war that cost him his kingdom and his life, but rendered his name immortal. Nearly six months had elapsed from the commencement of hostilities at Swansea before that powerful ally, the Narraganset, could be brought into an active participation in the war; and Philip's inherent greatness as a man, and his ability as a warrior, need no further proofs than his adroit management during that half year, by which he saved his band of fleeing Wampanoags from being totally destroyed before the Narragansets came to his aid. There was no bad faith intended or enacted, on the part of the Narragansets, in their conduct towards the Wampanoags at this critical period. The fatal difficulty was, that, among the Wampanoags, those fit only for the field had got into the council. It is but reasonable to believe that the Narragansets were as unprepared as the Wampanoags for the issue; and their judgment foresaw, if war was forced upon them then, it would result in disaster to all the Indians concerned. Philip, doubtless, greatly feared what the Narragansets foresaw, but, as the matter then stood, he was obliged to be governed by his necessities, instead of counselled by his reason. With Philip it was everything or nothing—to gain all or to lose all. He had labored, but labored in vain, to induce his Wampanoags to wait until they were ready to fight, and their friends the Narragansets were also ready to join with them in that fight; but the former would do neither, and, as a matter of dire necessity, Philip took the field at the head of his Wampanoags, who to their cost soon found that to begin a war was an easy matter compared with successfully conducting it. The first had been their act against the remonstrances of their chief, the last

became his task to perform ; their weakness of judgment being sufficient for the first, all his skill and foresight unequal to the last.

Mr. Drake's Book of the Indians, page 61, says :—
"In the beginning of Philip's war, the English army, to cause the Narragansets to fight for them, whom they had always abused and treated with contempt since before the cutting off of Miantunnomoh's head, marched into their country, but could not meet with a single sachem of the nation. They fell in with a few of their people who could not well secrete themselves, and who concluded a long treaty of mere verbosity, the import of which they could know but little, and, doubtless, cared less ; for, when the army left their country, they joined again in the war."

The term "joined again" I think expresses more than the truth, as it implies that the Narraganset tribe had before that date participated therein, which I think lacks proof. That the hearts of the Narragansets had been with King Philip in his cause against the English, I have no doubt ; but, that their hands had been to any considerable degree active, I do not believe ; and, therefore, to say that they *soon after joined* in the war, I am constrained to think is a much more truthful expression than that they *joined again* in that conflict.

As an example of the injustice that the English intended, exercised and practised toward the Narragansets, need we add more than that they caused (doubtless compelled) four Indians of that tribe to subscribe to the articles of the treaty just alluded to, in the names of the chiefs of that nation. Now who that is governed by a particle of the principles of justice would say such a treaty as that was at all binding upon those chiefs or on that tribe ? That the Narragansets might fulfil this unrighteous treaty, which they had really no

part in making, the English seized upon and held as hostages four Indians of that tribe.*

If the Narragansets had before lacked cause for a war against the English, this conduct on the part of the latter certainly afforded a sufficient provocation. It was also an insult no high minded people could bear (which, to the honor of that tribe be it said, and ever remembered, they did not submit to), and served only to cement yet more firmly the union of their hearts with those of the Wampanoags, binding the tribes more closely in sentiment and in sympathy—a unity of principles which speedily found vent in unity of action. What the appeals of King Philip and his people could not effect, this unrighteous conduct of the English successfully accomplished, viz., a warlike alliance between the Narragansets and Wampanoags; not an alliance that should bring the warriors of the former into the field of strife a year or even six months hence, but immediately; and thus were they brought half a year earlier than they had formerly agreed with King Philip that they should be furnished.

The miserable farce enacted in the Narraganset country was enlarged upon at Boston, October 18, 1675, when Nanuntenuo under pressure was induced to sign an additional treaty, by which it was stipulated that the Narragansets should in ten days deliver to the English every one of the Indians who had taken refuge or were sojourning in their country, whether belonging to the tribe of King Philip, of Weetamoo the squaw sachem of Pocasset, or of Awashonks the squaw sachem of Sogkonate, the Quabaug or Hadley Indians, or any other sachems or people that had been or at this

* The names of the four Narraganset Indians taken by the English, and held as hostages, were, Wobequob, Weowchim, Pewkes and Wenew, who are said to have been near kinsmen and choice friends to the Narraganset sachems.

time were in hostility with the English. To that remarkable document the chief Nanuntenoo affixed his mark, and the English amanuensis added that it was that of "Quananchett," who signed not only in behalf of himself but also for "Conanacus," "Old Queen,*" "Pomham" and "Quaunapeen."

The greatest battle of King Philip's war was fought in the Narraganset country, but its description more properly forms a part of the details in the biography of King Philip, than in that of Nanuntenoo alias Canonchet, though the latter was a participant therein. That battle was fought on Sunday, the 19th of December, in what is now the town of Kingston, Washington Co., R. I.; and a little more than three months later, viz., Sunday, March 26, 1676, not far from Pawtucket Falls, in what was called the Attleborough Gore, came off a battle in which Nanuntenoo commanded all the Indians engaged.† Nanuntenoo with his warriors, estimated at more than three hundred in number, were at a fording place on the river, and it is believed that he and they were on the way to attack Plymouth or some of its adjacent towns.

The Indians at that time were carrying war like a whirlwind into the interior, and, as would be supposed, best protected settlements in the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay.

In fact only a few days previous to the event we are about to describe, viz., Sunday, March 12, 1676, the

* Old Queen is, perhaps, better known in history under the name of Magnus. She was also called Sunk Squaw and Matantuck. She was a daughter-in-law of Canonicus, being the wife of his son Mriksah alias Mexam. She was a sister of the chieftain Ninigret. She had two sons, Scuttup and Quequaquenuet; and a daughter, Quinemiquet.

† Hubbard's history says that this chief did not arrive in that neighborhood until several days after this battle was fought. The earliest English writers disagreed concerning several important facts in King Philip's war. Concerning some of these disagreements, we are now able to determine which was right and which in error; and if I mistake not, that statement of Hubbard has now come to be discredited.

Indians had penetrated to the town of Plymouth, the capital of Plymouth colony, there taken and destroyed a garrison house,* killed its defenders,† and possessed themselves of the provisions it contained; also eight muskets, thirty pounds of powder, a quantity of lead, and 150 pounds in money, and all without the loss of a single warrior killed, wounded, captured or missing.

So adroitly was it managed, so masterly was its execution, that Plymouth people for a time were entirely misled and wholly unable to determine who was the particular leader of the band that destroyed Clark's Garrison, or what Indians had participated therein. A stroke of lightning out of a clear sky could have created no greater surprise.

Like the savage beast bereft of its young, so had the Indian become since his wife and children, in fire lighted by a christian soldier's torch, had been roasted alive in the ruins of the Narraganset fortification, his anger being thoroughly aroused, his thirst for revenge scarcely appeasable. One of the immediate results of the terror occasioned by the destruction of Clark's Garrison in Plymouth, and other Indian exploits of almost daily occurrence in different towns of the colony which were just then suffering most seriously, was the sending forth of Captain Michael Peirse of Scituate, with sixty-three English soldiers‡ and twenty friendly Indians, who in turn attempted to carry the war into the enemy's country. An Indian of the Wampanoag tribe, who was called Captain Amos, led these friendly Indians

* Rev. Increase Mather, in his brief History, asserted that the Indians also killed Mrs. Elizabeth Clark and her sucking child, and knocked another child 8 years old on the head that afterward recovered.

† It was called "Clark's Garrison," being the house of William Clark at Eel River in Plymouth. Clark was absent at church at the time, and so escaped.

‡ Early writers disagreed about the number of English soldiers that Capt. Peirse had. One author said fifty, another fifty-five, and another sixty-three. Bliss, in his history of Rehoboth, accredits the last.

that made part of the command of Captain Michael Peirse. Captain Amos appears to have resided, at the time, on or near Cape Cod.

Capt. Peirse and his command, consisting of English and Indians,* proceeded to Rehoboth (that part which subsequently became Seekonk), where they arrived on Saturday, the 25th of March, 1676. Hearing that Indians had been discovered in that vicinity, he immediately went in pursuit, and had a skirmish with them, sustaining no loss on his own part, and believing that he had considerably damaged them. Night coming on Capt. Peirse did not deem it prudent to continue the conflict, but retired to the fortified house† at Seekonk, unpursued by the Indians.

The next morning, viz., Sunday, March 26, 1676, several guides were obtained from among the Rehoboth people, and Capt. Peirse‡ again moved in pursuit of the Indians. The English had not proceeded far, when in an obscure woody place they discovered four or five rambling Indians who ran away as fast as they were apparently able, though seemingly impeded by lameness, as if seriously wounded. These Indians the English pursued, and ere long found them to be decoys leading them into an ambuscade.

Capt. Peirse seems to have fully appreciated and

* "The councell doe agree that the souldiers now vnder the presse from the southern townes be att Plymouth on Weddnesday the eighth of this instant in order vnto a further march, and with them 20 or 30 of the southern Indians, whoe, together with the other whoe are vnder presse, to goe forth vnder the comand of Captaine Michael Peirse and Leiftenant Samuell Fuller."—*Ply. Col. Rec.* vol. v. p. 187.

† Phanuel Bishop has since had a residence on the former site of that fortified house; so says Bliss's History of Rehoboth.

‡ A century later, Capt. Hayward Peirse of Scituate, Mass., who was a grandson of Capt. Michael Peirse, led a company of Massachusetts soldiers to Rhode Island, and with the patriots of Massachusetts and Rhode Island resisted the British troops. The writer of this book has some of the written documents executed in that patriot camp in Rhode Island by Capt. Hayward Peirse. The present secretary of state for the commonwealth of Massachusetts is a lineal descendant of Capt. Hayward Peirse. Henry B. Peirse, the secretary, was a captain in the late war.

correctly judged of the real situation and true condition of things. He was not taken by surprise, at least not so surprised that he and his force must of necessity have been destroyed, and yet he encountered an overwhelming force of the enemy, a force far exceeding in numbers what he or any one else suspected was collected in the neighborhood. On perceiving the danger that threatened, Capt. Peirse immediately despatched a messenger to Providence for reinforcements, and, had his orders been faithfully obeyed, the result of the battle that occurred might have been widely different from the disastrous results realized by him and his command. One authority states that Capt. Peirse, before setting out on the march that morning, sent a written message to Providence, entrusting it to a man who was going there to attend religious services. The message, whether verbal or written, was to the captain of the militia of Providence, desiring immediate assistance. The person entrusted with taking that message intentionally omitted or carelessly delayed to deliver it until the morning services of public worship were over, and the captain on being apprized of this censured the messenger severely, and is said to have declared that it was then too late to render any assistance, as the fate of Capt. Peirse had by that time been decided one way or the other, as indeed it had, and most adversely to him and nearly all his command.*

None have ever doubted Captain Peirse's courage, though some have questioned his forethought, his conduct and calculation. But in view of the precautions

* Had the number of Indians there assembled proved to have been comparatively small, Capt. Michael Peirse would have been blamed for not attacking them at once, even before his expected reinforcement came up, and before the Indians had time to escape. He did attack, thinking if the Indians were few in number his force would prove sufficient; and if the number of the Indians proved large, he expected to be able successfully to cope with them by the aid of expected reinforcements from Providence.

that he took, and took seasonably, how can an unprejudiced judgment or unbiassed mind decide that he lacked either courage or conduct?

In short, the English engaged a body of Indians several times larger than themselves, but so stubbornly did the former maintain the contest that the Indians were beginning to give ground, yield the field, when they were so largely reinforced that to the English and friendly Indians they are said to have numbered as five or six to one. And yet was the battle maintained above two hours, during which time Capt. Peirse, his Lieutenant Samuel Fuller, 55 English soldiers, and ten friendly Indians were slain. Said a contemporary historian concerning the fall of Peirse and his men, "which in such a cause and upon such disadvantages may certainly be styled the bed of honor."

Rev. Noah Newman, the minister of Rehoboth, concerning whom I have already had occasion to make repeated mention in this book, addressed a letter to the Rev. John Cotton of Plymouth, of which the following is a true copy. The original letter is still preserved in the library of the American Antiquarian Society, at Worcester, Mass.

of the first
Rehoboth 27th 76

Reverend and dear Sir,

I received yours dated the 20th of this instant wherein you gave me a doleful relation of what had happened with you, and what a distressing Sabbath you had passed. I have now according to the words of your own letter an opportunity to retaliate your account with a relation of what yesterday happened to the great saddening of our hearts, filling us with an awful expectation of what further evils it may be ante-cedaneous to, both respecting ourselves and you. Upon the 25th of this instant Capt. Pierce went forth with a small party of his men and Indians with him, and upon dis-

covering the enemy fought him, without damage to himself, and judged that he had considerably damnified them. Yet he, being of no great force, chose rather to retreat and go out the next morning with a recruit of men; And accordingly he did, taking pilots from us, that were acquainted with the ground. But it pleased the Sovereign God so to order it that they were enclosed with a great multitude of the enemy, which hath slain fifty-two of our Englishmen and eleven Indians. The account of their names is as follows. From Scituate 18 of whom 15 were slain viz: Capt. Pierce, Samuel Russell, Benjamin Chittenden, John Lothrop, Gershom Dodson, Samuel Pratt, Thomas Savery, Joseph Wade, William Wilcome, Jeremiah Barstow, John Ensign, Joseph Cowen, Joseph Perry, John Rowse. Marshfield 9 slain: Thomas Little, John Eams, Joseph White, John Burrows, Joseph Philips, Samuel Bump, John Low, More —, John Brance. Duxbury, 4 slain: John Sprague, Benjamin Soal, Thomas Hunt, Joshua Fobes. Sandwich, 5 slain: Benjamin Nye, Daniel Bessey, Caleb Blake, Job Gibbs, Stephen Wing. Barnstable, 6 slain: Lieut. Fuller, John Lewis, Eleazer Clapp, Samuel Linnet, Samuel Childs, Samuel Bereman. Yarmouth, 5 slain: John Mathews, John Gage, William Gage, Henry Gage, Henry Gold. Eastham, 4 slain: Joseph Nessefield, John Walker, John M.—— [torn off], John Fitz, Jr., John Miller, Jr. Thomas Man is just returned with a sore wound.

Thus sir you have a sad account of the continuance of God's displeasure against us; Yet still I desire steadfastly to look unto him, who is not only able but willing to save all such as are fit for his salvation. It is a day of the wicked's triumph, but the sure word of God tells us his triumphing is brief. O that we may not lengthen it out by our sins. The Lord help us to joyne issue in our prayers, instantly and earnestly, for the healing and helping of our Land. Our Extremity is God's opportunity. Thus with our dearest respects to you and Mrs. Cotton, and such sorrowful friends as are with you, I remain

Your ever assured friend,

NOAH NEWMAN.

The letter is somewhat torn and mutilated, small portions being missing so that two of the surnames had to be omitted. The word Rehoboth is thought to have been on a piece of paper that is missing, as it is claimed that John Fitz, Jr., and John Miller, Jr., were of that town. Over the caret in the date of the letter, Mr. Newman added the words "of the first," which signified of the first month, as March was then reckoned the first month in the year. That "doleful relation" of what had happened, written by Rev. John Cotton in a letter to Mr. Newman, and that the latter was now replying to, was probably an account of the destruction of Clark's garrison in Plymouth, Sunday, March 12, 1676.

The loss on the part of the Indians in this battle was severe. Increase Mather estimated that loss at one hundred and forty. One authority has placed it at three hundred, which doubtless is an over-estimate. The last is what the English at the time tried to persuade themselves that it was. The estimate of Mr. Mather was what he said some Indians, soon after captured, confessed it to have been.

Concerning the precise spot where this sanguinary battle was fought, Mr. Leonard Bliss, in his excellent History of Rehoboth, page 88, says: "The place where this battle was fought is still pointed out. It is between the villages of Pawtucket and Valley Falls, nearer the latter, at a spot which I have been told was formerly called "The Many Holes." It commenced on the east side of the river, but the severest part of the action was on the west, immediately on the bank of the stream. Some have placed the site of this battle considerably farther up the river, between the bridge called Whipple's Bridge and Study Hill, the former residence of Blackstone; but from this battle having sometimes been styled by the older inhabitants "The Battle of

the Plain," from its having been fought on the border of the great Seekonk Plain,* the former spot, tradition being equally strong in its favor, seems to possess the highest claims to being the battle ground."

Mr. Drake, in his "Book of Indians," says of Capt. Michael Peirse, of Scituate: "He was one of those adventurous spirits who never knew fear and who

* The writer of this book has a very distinct recollection of the time that his eyes first beheld this great Seekonk Plain, and the wonder and astonishment with which he regarded the level unenclosed and barren-looking waste of land. I have seen nothing like it since, save in some locations at the South where armies had long been quartered during the late war. Tradition says that a hot fire which consumed much of the wood and timber that formerly stood on Seekonk Plain, also burned up the vegetable mould in the soil, thus rendering it unproductive. Large portions of this plain have within a few years been fenced in, so that its former novelty in appearance has in a great measure ceased. It was on a pleasant morning in the summer of 1833, when the writer, a lad of eleven years, with his father, passed over the Seekonk Plain, *en route* from Freetown to Pawtucket, expressly to see Gen. Andrew Jackson, who was then President of the United States, on a tour through New England, accompanied by Martin Van Buren, Vice-President, Gen. Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, and Levi Woodbury, Secretary of the Navy. On our arrival in Pawtucket, we saw the distinguished gentlemen in an open barouche, riding through the streets of that town, they having just come from Providence, and with my father I travelled on foot beside the carriage for a considerable distance to get a prolonged sight at those notables, and then we rode out to the Valley Falls, passing over or near to the spot where in March, 1676, was fought the "Battle of the Plain." Report said that the Indian Chief BLACK HAWK would accompany the President on this tour, as perhaps he had done a part of the way. But the great western chief was not with the warrior President then, which caused to my young mind some disappointment, though with this drawback that was one of the greatest days in my early life, for I realized weeks and months of ordinary existence in that one long summer's day in which I saw a hero President, a Vice President, two members of the National Cabinet and Seekonk Plain. I never recall to mind my father's desire to store my young mind with practical knowledge as exemplified in efforts like that of travelling nearly 30 miles to Pawtucket that I might see the President, but that a glow of gratitude is awakened at the remembrance. Children can love as well as venerate and respect such parents who thus endeavour to enlarge as well as instruct their minds and elevate their affections. Grovelling tastes and desires are in a measure the results of grovelling examples and presenting grovelling subjects as food for the young mind. Seekonk Plain, as I then saw it, I have been told was seven miles long. I have seen children whose minds, if not as extensive, were practically as barren as Seekonk Plain, and for the cultivation of whose minds their parents did no more than the labors then bestowed on that barren uncultivated waste, that Bristol County Sahara, or Old Colony Desert.

sought rather than shrunk from danger. He was like his great antagonist in the Narraganset fight, and in 1673, when the government of Plymouth raised a force to go against the Dutch who had encroached upon them in Connecticut, he was appointed ensign.”*

A letter written by Rev. John Cotton, of Plymouth, throws light upon the subsequent history of Nanuntenoo alias Canonchet, and what transpired near the scene of the battle we have just been describing.

Plimouth, April 19, 1676.

Worthy Sir :

With refference to the transactions of the last weeke, I am exceedingly afflicted to think that wee should so reele and stagger in our counsels as drunken men, and that soe pretious a people as Rehoboth should be soe forsaken by us for our own selfish interests. If I were in your study alone, I would tell you how much blemish some have gotten for being so backward to maintaine a garrison at Rehoboth. This morning the Gov^r (being much encouraged by Capt. Bradford and the treasurer thereunto) hath sent 2 men post to Rehoboth, to signify that if they will come off, an army from us shall guard them; but if they will stay and judge it neccessary for their safety, they shall have from us 40 or 50 men to keepe garrison with them, etc. And truly, sir, if your southerne men shall faile in this, it will be just matter of reproach to them; however it is resolved helpe shall be sent them if they accept it. Good news in letters from Stonington to Boston. On Lord's day, Apr. 9, some Connecticut forces Capt. George Dennison being chiefe tooke and killed 42 Indians, of which Quanonshet was one, who was taken in the coat he received at Boston. His head is sent to Hartford, his body is burnt; then also was killed one hostage that run away from

* Plymouth Colony was to furnish one company for that expedition, and the commissioned officers were James Cudworth, Captain; John Gorham, Lieut.; Michael Peirse, Ensign. Cudworth served as a Major, and Gorham and Peirse served as Captains, in King Philip's War. Gorham and Peirse sacrificed their lives to the cause in which they engaged.

Hartford and some chief counsellors; also 38 sachems and 3 Cpts. were taken and killed neere Patuxet [Pawtucket]. There was also a fight Apr. 2 by those forces with the Narragansets; the issue of that I have not a particular account of. Apr. 12, one woman and 2 children were killed at Wooburne. At Boston the votes for nominations of magistrates for divers old ones run very low. Capt. Gookins hath 446, which is but 5 more than Major Savage hath who is the last in the nomination of the 18: Mr. Dudley hath 651. An Indian at Boston who was improved as a messenger to the enemy being returned affirms that Capt. Pierce and his killed scores of the Indians that Sabbath day. I must now conclude this letter having sundry things to transcribe for you which just now I rec^d from Boston. Our church hath set apart this following Wednesday for Humiliation and pr. I am much straitned for time, but my respect to you obliges me to transcribe the enclosed.

I rest, &c. &c.

JOHN COTTON.

Concerning the death of Nanuntenoo, whom the Rev. John Cotton calls *Quanonshet*, we have gathered the following:

April 9, 1676, Nanuntenoo alias Canonchet was found not far from the present village of Pawtucket. Capt. George Dennison, of Stonington, and Capt. Avery, of New London, Connecticut, with 47 English soldiers and 80 friendly Indians, were at or near Pawtucket when they captured an Indian man and two squaws. They slew the Indian man and from the women obtained information that Nanuntenoo alias Canonchet was not far off, which news put new life into the soldiers that had been on the march several days accomplishing nothing. Pushing forward, the soldiers soon came in sight of some wigwams, in one of which the chief at that moment was, and he sent two Indians to the top of an adjacent hill to learn the cause of the

alarm occasioned by the approach of the English. As these two Indians did not return he sent another and then two more, and one of the latter quickly returned with the alarming information that the English in force were close upon him. Whereupon having no time to consult and but little to effect an escape, and no means to offer a proper defence, he attempted to flee, closely pursued by some of the friendly Indians and a few of the English. So hard was he pushed in this race that he first cast off his blanket, soon after his silver laced coat, then a belt of peag, and then took to the water, when his foot slipping upon a stone he fell, wetting his gun, which accident he said made him to become as a rotten stick. One of the foremost of the friendly Indians now seized hold upon him and others of the pursuers coming quickly up, he offered no resistance. Robert Staunton was the first Englishman to arrive. He was about 21 years of age, and adventuring to ask the captured chief a question, the latter looking contemptuously upon the youthful face of the Englishman, said: "You much child, no understand matters of war; let your brother or your chief come, him will I answer." He would not accept his life when tendered to him on condition of compliance with the English. He was carried as a prisoner to Stonington, Connecticut. When told his sentence was to die, he answered that "he liked it well, that he should die before his heart was soft or he had spoken anything unworthy of himself." Sometimes when questioned he would reply that he was born a prince, and if princes came to speak with him he would answer, but none present being such, he thought himself obliged in honor to hold his tongue and not hold discourse with such persons below his birth and quality. He desired to be presently put to death. He was shot at Stonington; his head was cut off and carried to Hartford; his body was burned.

QUINNAPIN.

This chief was a Narraganset, being a son of Con-janaquond, a nephew of Miantunnomoh, and a cousin of Nanuntenoo alias Canonchet. Quinnapin had three wives, of whom one had previously been the wife of Wamsutta, and after his death she entered into the marriage relation with an Indian named Petonowowett, who by the English was sometimes called Ben. But when the latter, in King Philip's war, went over to the English and assisted them in the bloody strife they were waging against her countrymen, she left him and ever after discarded him as a husband, and became the wife of Quinnapin. Weetamoo, for that was the name of the wife of Wamsutta, Petonowowett and Quinnapin, was also a sister of Wootonckanuse, the wife of King Philip; and so, according to the English method of calculating relationships, Quinnapin was brother-in-law to the great Wampanoag chieftain, the famous Metacomet alias King Philip. For a more extended account of Weetamoo, queen of Pocasset, see from pages 44 to 50, both inclusive, of this book. Quinnapin was one of King Philip's chief captains in the great Indian war of 1675 and 1676, and at the attack on Lancaster, Feb. 10, 1676, he was present and a participant therein. Quinnapin and Nanuntenoo, in the winter of 1675-76, when some others were in favor of making peace with the English, are said to have declared their determination and choice rather to fight it out to the last man. Mrs. Rowlandson, who was captured by a Narraganset Indian at the attack on Lancaster, was sold to Quinnapin, with whose wife or wives she remained until redeemed and taken back to her friends.

When King Philip left his winter quarters, near the Connecticut River, and returned to his old hunting grounds, and those of Weetamoo, in the spring or early summer of 1676, he was accompanied by Quinnapin;

and about the end of July in that year, Capt. Benjamin Church learned that the two chiefs and a large number of their followers were encamped in a great cedar swamp near Aponaganset, probably within the limits of Dartmouth. We next hear of Quinnapin at Bridgewater. He was soon after captured, taken to Newport and shot.* An early writer, in describing Quinnapin, said he was "a lusty young sachem." This ended the life of Weetamoo's third husband.

PUMHAM

was among the first or earliest chiefs that espoused the cause of King Philip in his war. As the English were returning from the great swamp fight in December, 1675, they passed through Pumham's country, when they came in collision with some of his warriors, led by an Indian named Quaqualh. Four English soldiers were wounded. The English reported that they killed five Indians, wounded Quaqualh in the knee, and burned about one hundred wigwams.

Pumham was slain by a party of Dedham and Medfield people, July 25, 1676. Fifty of his band were captured, but he refusing to be taken alive, was slain. He was sachem of Showamet, now Warwick, R. I. For these facts concerning that chief, I am indebted to Drake's Book of the Indians and Barber's Historical Collections of Massachusetts. Historians seem agreed in this, viz., that Pumham in several respects was a very remarkable man, and some rank him next to King Philip. Mr. J. W. Barber says that Pumham was probably the only chieftain except Philip possessing sufficient energy and talent to have united the scattered tribe and infused into them his own spirit and courage. Mr. Drake said Pumham "was a mighty man of valor."

* He was tried and condemned by a court-martial, sitting at Newport, R. I., Aug. 24, 1676.

TUSPAQUIN.

That Tuspaquin (who was sometimes called the Black Sachem) was one of King Philip's most faithful friends and reliable captains, seems to have become quite generally known; but another fact, equally true yet not so generally known, it becomes our duty and privilege to state, viz., that his wife was a sister to the great chief of the Wamponoags, so that Philip and Tuspaquin were brothers-in-law, and the latter a son-in-law to Massasoit.

Amie, a daughter of Massasoit, and sister to Wamsutta and King Philip, was the wife of Tuspaquin, or Watuspaquin, as he was frequently, and, perhaps, more properly called. Amie must have been a name that the English bestowed upon the Indian princess, and it is greatly to be regretted that her original name, that conferred by her parents in the Indian tongue, has not also come down to us. Nor is it, perhaps, too late to hope that this may yet be discovered and brought to light, as have many other things in Indian history, after being forgotten and hidden for more than a century, being the fruits of that careful investigation and research concerning local history, biography and genealogy, almost unknown in this country till within the last half century,* and which has produced most wonderful results in the last twenty-five years.

"Whom I have injured, him I hate," was, perhaps, never more truly verified than in the conduct of the English toward the Indians, after the former had fully succeeded in wresting from the latter that goodly inheritance—a birthright through successive generations from time immemorial, dating back for aught we know

* The light of the last half century has also relieved our minds from that ignorance, bigotry, superstition and prejudice, that caused the belief in the silly dogma that the inhabitants of the American continent must have originated from the Adam of the Asiatic, as if America could not produce its Adam as well as Asia.

to a period before the creature man in any part of the habitable globe had a recorded history, whether that record was made since the invention of letters, or in a far more dim and distant past when words were represented by pictures of things animate and inanimate—the days of hieroglyphics.

Not only did the English endeavor to efface the Indian names of persons by encouraging the natives to drop these, substituting English names in their place, but they also endeavored, and in general successfully, to blot out—cause to be disused and forgotten—the Indian names of localities. Time, that great pacifier, has made it possible, after the lapse of two centuries, for christians to do comparative justice to heathen—or to the lineal descendants of those heathen whom their English ancestors robbed, persecuted, destroyed and almost exterminated “root and branch” in person and in property, in fact and even in name. The rightful owner of the soil was not only dispossessed, driven away, killed, but his very name and the names of his hills, vales, plains, mountains, lakes, streams, and even his tiny rivulets, changed, both in conversation and whenever and wherever it was requisite that these should find a place upon written or printed records. What nationality or people, since men were made, ever suffered a more complete “wiping out”? They were nearly blotted from earth’s book of remembrance.

Indian names were singularly expressive, and very appropriate, often beautiful. This fact, of late years, seems to be much more deeply as well as generally realized, and, prejudice having in a great degree died out, we are now as a people returning to what we ought never to have left, viz. recognizing localities by their former Indian names. Greater attention is also paid to learning the Indian languages, and in this advance of mind, reform in morals, and improvement in

manners, may we not hope, ere long, to recover Indian names of persons as well as of places; when that Indian princess, the daughter of "good old Massasoit," sister of Wamsutta and Metacom, the bride of Tuspaquin, will be remembered, spoken of and referred to, in the sweet and suggestive name conferred by fond and doting parents in the years of her infancy and childlike innocence, perchance somewhat changed or added to when she had acquired the bewitching charms of a young maiden, or the blooming beauty of early womanhood. But for the present, when speaking of her, we must be content with the unpoetic, unsuggestive and unmusical English cognomen of *Amie*,

The chief Tuspaquin and his wife Amie formed the first link in the genealogical chain that connects Mrs. Zerviah Gould Mitchell, the publisher of this work, with good old Massasoit, and concerning which an extended account appears in that part of this book devoted exclusively to the genealogy of the family.

Tuspaquin alias Watuspaquin, called also the Black Sachem, was chief of the Assawamsets, a tribe of Indians inhabiting a tract of country lying within the limits of what is now the township of Lakeville, and probably extending into parts of the present towns of Middleborough and Rochester. Tuspaquin's principal residence seems to have been upon what still retains the name of Assawamset* Neck, a section of country lying between the Assawamset and Long ponds, and washed on its borders also by the Great Quitecus and Little Quitecus ponds.† Mr. Daniel Ricketson, in his history of New Bedford, pages 90 and 91, thus discourses :

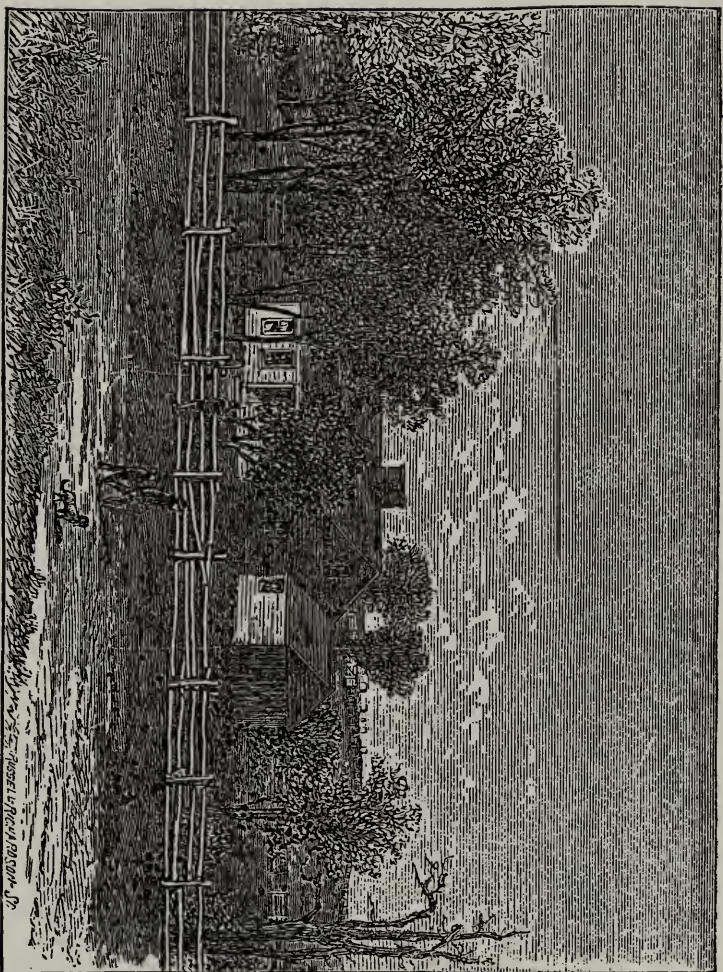
* Perhaps people residing in that section as often or oftener spell this name Assawomset. In early English records, it was spelled in various ways, sometimes Assowamset—and the writer does not pretend to determine which is the most proper.

† There are little islands in these ponds that add to their attractiveness and beauty. Each pond I think has at least one island.

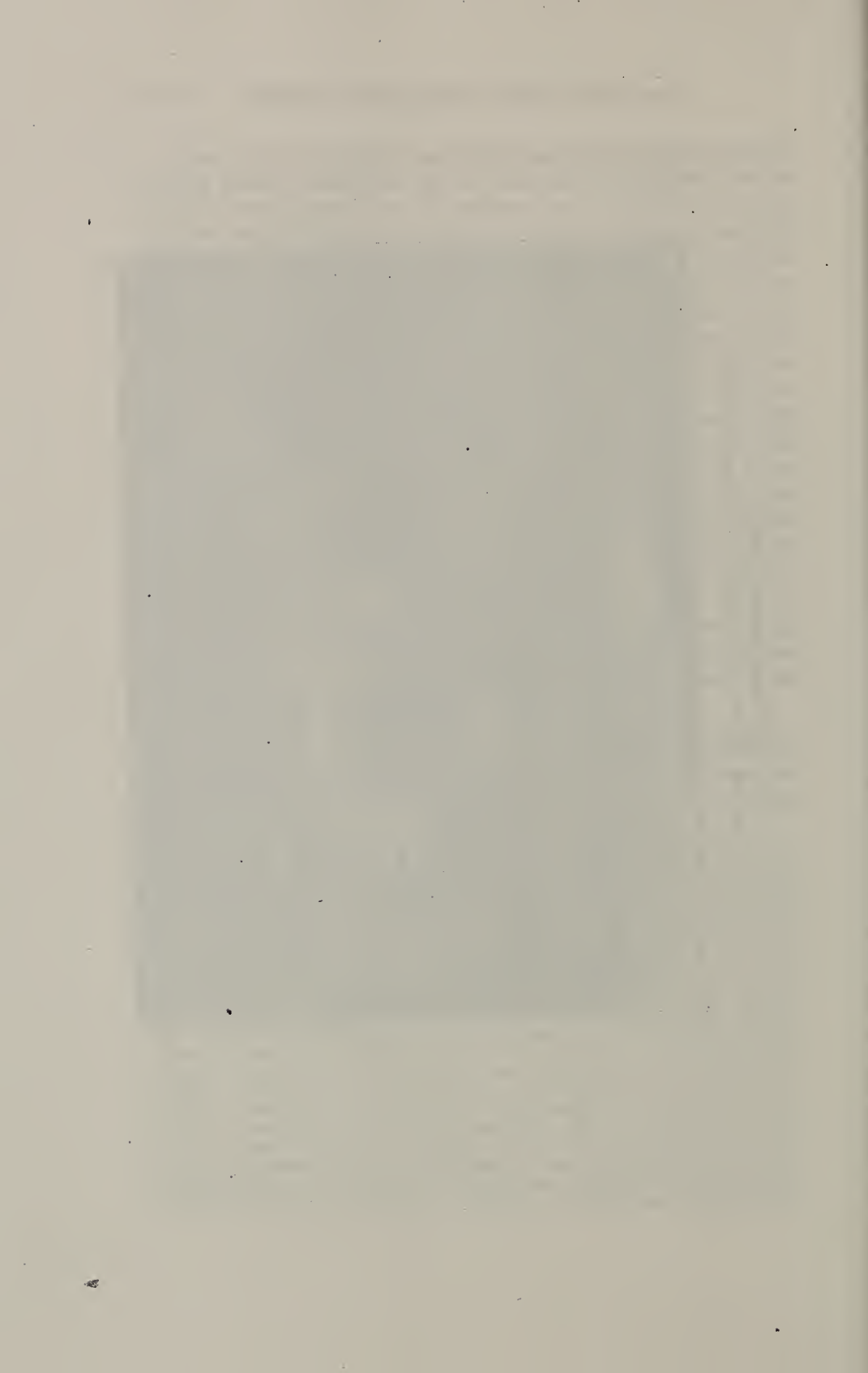
There are views upon our river and the adjoining banks which would attract the eye of the most fastidious lover of nature, and, transferred to canvass by a skilful landscape painter, would equal any scenes of a quiet character in New England. Our river takes its rise near the south shores of two of the beautiful Middleborough ponds, Apponequet or Long Pond, and Aquitticaset, in a richly wooded dell about ten miles from New Bedford, and for some distance on its course is known by the humble name of "Squin's Brook," so called from Watuspaquin, a noted sachem of the Nemasket or Middleborough Indians, and one of the most prominent allies of the great tribe of Wampanoags in the time of Pometacom alias King Philip. The little stream of crystal purity flows quietly along through the woods and fields, occasionally intercepted in its course as its size increases by those obstacles, and usually deformities to most rivers, mills and their dams, to the village of Acushnet, a little less than four miles from the city. From this place its course is unobstructed until it reaches the New Bedford and Fairhaven bridge, increasing in breadth until it empties into the harbors of the latter named places, formed by an arm of the sea which makes up from Buzzard's Bay.

Mr. Ricketson denominates these ponds as Middleborough Ponds; only a part of the ponds are now in Middleborough. Lakeville* was detached from Mid-

* When the Massachusetts Legislature determined to divide the township of Middleborough, notice was given by that body to the legal voters of the part to be detached, requiring them to assemble and determine upon a name for the new town. The voters were accordingly brought together in a school-house, near the present site of the Lakeville town-house, on Saturday, the 29th of January, 1853, and voted on the question by using written ballots bearing the names they desired; and upon sorting and counting the ballots thus cast, it was found that a clear majority bore the name of "Nelson," and declaration thereof was made accordingly. This was designed as a compliment to Job Peirce Nelson, Esq., a prominent citizen and leading man of the proposed new town, whose modesty caused him to discourage the movement, and hence it was abandoned. "Bristol" and "Laketon" were also proposed as names, and finally "Lakeville," as a compromise, was accepted. The writer of this book then resided in what became Lakeville. He was present and voted on the question of a name for the town, and on returning home made a note of the proceeding in his diary that he now refers to as authority for these statements. The name "Bristol" was understood to have been proposed by Oliver Peirce, Esq. "Laketon" I think was recommended



ANCIENT HOUSE IN LAKEVILLE, TAKEN DOWN IN 1870.
(Date of erection not known.)



dleborough, set off and incorporated as a new and distinct town in 1853, by which the parent town lost a part of the Assawamset Pond and all that it ever em-

by Mr. Austin J. Roberts, since of Berkley. The compromise on "Lakeville" as a name was not effected until some days after. I am thus particular, as disputes have arisen about how the name originated. The compromise was made by the leaders of the parties advocating the different names already mentioned, and the name "Lakeville" agreed upon by those leaders and adopted by the legislature without referring it to a vote of the people of the town.

Job Peirce Nelson, Esq., was a lineal descendant of Thomas Nelson, the first white settler on Assawamset Neck. Thomas Nelson purchased his lands on that Neck in 1714, and commenced to reside thereon in 1717. His farm was bounded on one end by the Assawamset, and on the other by Long Pond, and on both sides by lands then owned by the Indians. Hope Higgins was the maiden name of Thomas Nelson's wife. She attained the great age of 105 yrs. 7 mos. Eight years before her decease, she enumerated as her lineal descendants 257 persons, and at the date of her death there were about 337. Thomas Nelson and wife Hope Higgins had a son, Thomas Nelson, Jr., born April 12, 1710; married, Dec. 2, 1736, Judith Peirce, of Middleborough. He died March 7, 1768. She died Jan. 22, 1792. Thomas Nelson, Jr., was moderator of the annual town meeting in Middleborough 12 years; selectman, 12 years; assessor, several years; representative to the general court, 14 years; commissioned as lieutenant in or about 1757, and that commission renewed in 1762. Lieut. Thomas Nelson and wife were the parents of John Nelson, commissioned a major in the patriot service May 9, 1776; promoted to colonel July 1, 1781; and who, in the capacity of a field officer, served in Rhode Island and also at Dartmouth (now New Bedford and Fairhaven), in the war of the American Revolution. Lieut. Thomas Nelson and wife were also the parents of Thomas Nelson, born Feb. 22, 1739, and who married Anna Smith. Thomas and Anna were the parents of Hon. Job Nelson, Judge of Probate for the county of Hancock in the State of Maine, from 1804 to 1836; and also the parents of Dea Abiel Nelson, who married Sally Peirce, of Middleborough, that part now Lakeville. Deacon Abiel and wife were the parents of Job Peirce Nelson, Esq., in honor of whom a majority of the voters of Lakeville proposed to name that town. Job Peirce Nelson, Esq., was born (upon the farm purchased by his great-great-grandfather as herein stated) Oct. 17, 1806, and died, in the house in which he was born, Dec. 3, 1862. The farm is now owned and occupied by his children, to whom it has descended by heirship through five consecutive generations, having never been sold, for a term of one hundred and sixty-four years.

The first town-meeting in Lakeville for the choice of town officers was held in a school-house (standing near the public hall since erected) in that town, and on Saturday, the 28th of May, 1853, when the following named gentlemen were elected officers, viz., Reuben Hafford, Esq., Ezra McCully and Nathaniel Sampson, *Selectmen and Assessors*; Eleazer Richmond, Job Peirce and Lieut. Col. Ebenezer W. Peirce, *Overseers of the Poor*; Calvin Kingman, Harrison Staples and William T. Jenney, *School Committee*; Earl S. Ashley and Abner C. Barrows, *Constables*. The first and only coroner ever appointed in Lakeville, was Ebenezer W. Peirce, who was commissioned Jan. 7, 1854.

braced of the Apponequet or Long Pond.* Mr. Ricketson styles Watuspaquin as sachem of the Nemasket Indians, and probably he was, though Nemasket was the term applied to those natives who resided at and near what is now the Four Corners Village, in Middleborough, and parts of that town adjacent to Taunton, several miles remote from Assawamset Neck. To say that Tuspaquin or Watuspaquin was sachem or chief of the Assawamset and Nemasket Indians would be probably to tell the whole truth in that matter, but if we omit either it should be to drop the Nemasket instead of Assawamset, for the latter, as an expressive term, we think greatly exceeds the former.

Concerning Watuspaquin or Tuspaquin, Mr. Drake, in his Book of the Indians, says: "From the survey of the deeds which he executed of various large tracts of land, it is evident his sachemdom was very extensive." Among these sales, the records still serve to show the following:

August 9, 1667, to Henry Wood of Plymouth, in

What is now Lakeville was the birthplace of Rev. Wm. Nelson, born July 18, 1741; ordained at Norton Nov. 12, 1772; resigned about 1785. (Clark's Norton.) Rev. Samuel Nelson, born April 6, 1748; settled in the ministry at South Middleborough in 1794 (see Barber's Historical Collections); died Sept. 9, 1822 (see Baptist Magazine). Rev. Ebenezer Nelson, born Oct. 26, 1753; ordained pastor of the church in Norton, Nov. 10, 1790. (Clark's Norton.) Rev. Stephen S. Nelson, settled in the ministry at Bellingham, and from April 28, 1815, to May, 1820, at Attleborough (see Daggett's History of Attleborough). These and also Rev. Ebenezer Nelson, Jr., of Middleborough, and Rev. Jabez Wood, Jr., of Swansea, were all lineal descendants of Thomas Nelson, the first white settler on Assawamset Neck.

The site of that Thomas Nelson's house is still pointed out. It was, until within a few years, distinctly marked by a depression in the ground on a meadow lot, upon the opposite side of the road from the residence of Mrs. Hersey.

* A part of Long Pond lies within the limits of Freetown, bounding on one side what was once the farm of Hon. Nathaniel Morton, and where, on the 19th of February, 1784, his son Gov. Marcus Morton was born. The house where Hon. Nathaniel Morton resided, and where the governor was born, is still standing. It was also the birth-place of Mary Morton, born Sept. 28, 1786, and who became the wife of Rev. Elijah Dexter, and mother of Rev. Henry M. Dexter.

consideration of the sum of £4, land on the east side of Nemasket River, and bounded on one end by Black Sachem's Pond, which in the Indian tongue was called Wanpawcut, and on the other end by a small pond then known as Asnemscutt. The chief reserved to himself the right to continue to get cedar bark in the swamp of the tract conveyed.

July 17, 1669, the chief with his son, who was called William Tuspaquin, for £10, sold Experience Mitchell* and Henry Sampson,† of Duxbury, Thomas Little‡ of Marshfield and Thomas Paine of Eastham, a tract of land described as being near Assawomset, half a mile wide, and extending from said ponds to Dartmouth path.

June 10, 1670, the same parties, for £6, sold to Edward Grey, meadow near the town of Middleborough on the west side of land then owned by John Alden and Constant Southworth; and further described as being between Assawamset Pond and Taunton path. It was said to be in three parcels, and lying in three brooks. They also conveyed another lot lying upon the other side of the Taunton path.

June 30, 1672, Tuspaquin, who in the deed is described as sachem of "Namasskett," and his son William, who in the same document is called Mantowapuct, sold to Edward Grey and Josias Winslow land on the easterly side of Assawamsett, to begin where the Namasket River falleth out of the pond, and from thence bounded by the pond, and thence on a line

* Experience Mitchell came to America in the ship *Ann* in 1623; settled in Plymouth, afterwards in Duxbury, and last in that part of Bridgewater since called Joppa. Died in 1689, aged 80. (See Mitchell's Bridgewater.)

† Henry Sampson emigrated to America in 1620, and united in marriage with Ann Plummer, Feb. 6, 1636. He died Dec. 24, 1684. (See Winsor's History of Duxbury.)

‡ Thomas Little, of Marshfield, and Ann, daughter of Richard Warren, were married April 19, 1633; had children—Ephraim, Hannah, Mercy.

marked by bounds to Tuspaquin's Pond, and thence by land formerly sold to Henry Wood.

In 1673, the chief, who is called Old Watuspaquin, and his son William Tuspaquin, by deed of gift, conveyed to John Sassamon alias Wassasoman 27 acres of land at Assawamset Neck. March 11, 1673, the same parties deeded to an Indian named Felix, son-in-law to John Sassamon, $58\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land.

July 3, 1673, Tuspaquin and son William, for £15 sold Benjamin Church* of Duxbury, a house carpenter, and John Tomson of Barnstable, lands in Middleborough, bounded westerly by Monhiggen River, that is described as running into Quisquasett Pond, and thence bounded by a cedar swamp to Tuspaquin's Pond, and thence by Henry Wood's land to a place called Pocha-boquett. The northern boundary is called Nahudst River.

Nov. 1, 1673, the son William Watuspaquin, and Indians Assaweta, Tobias and Bewat, for £16, sold a tract of land bounded northerly by Quetaquash River, easterly by Snepetuit Pond, and also bounded in part by Quetaquash Pond.

Dec. 23, 1673, Old Tuspaquin and his son William made a deed of gift to Assawetough,† of a neck of land at Assawamset, which neck they called Nahtewamet.

May 14, 1675, Tuspaquin and his son, for £33 sterling, sold uplands and meadows at and about the ponds Ninipoket and Quiticus. John Tompson and Constant Southworth were among the purchasers.

Mr. Drake's Book of the Indians informs that in the

* Doubtless identical with the renowned Indian hunter, Capt. Benjamin Church, afterward of Little Compton.

† Assawetough was a daughter of John Sassamon, the educated Indian, who was converted to christianity, and who informed the English of King Philip's designs of making war. For divulging that secret, he was slain by the Indians and his dead body put under the ice of Assawamset Pond.

spring of 1676, Tuspaquin had about three hundred warriors, and that he with that force was marching from place to place in high expectation of humbling the pride of his enemies; and but for the sad reverses that King Philip at that time experienced at the west, these anticipations might have been realized. It is thought that Tuspaquin led in the attack on Scituate, Mass., that occurred April 20, 1676. As the Indians were entering the town of Scituate, they came to a saw mill owned by Cornet Robert Stetson. This mill the Indians burned, and tradition for a long time asserted that a wounded Englishman was burned in the mill; which is now discredited. They next burned the house of Joseph Sylvester, and, proceeding still further into the settlement, burned the houses of William Blackmore, Nicholas Swede, William Parker, Robert Stetson, Jr., Mr. Sundlake, Mr. Sutcliffe, Mr. Holmes, John Buck and others, as the evidence is quite conclusive that 19 houses in Scituate were then burned by the Indians; and among these it is now thought were the dwellings of Mr. Ewell, Mr. Northey, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Russell and Thomas King, Jr.

The Indians seem purposely to have avoided the garrison house at Joseph Barstow's, in which, at the time, were twelve armed men. Near the river's bank was a block house that the Indians attacked. It was successfully defended, and the assailants next proceeded to the garrison house at Charles Stockbridge's, entering Mr. Ewell's house on the way, but stopping only to take some bread out of the oven, that Mrs. Ewell was in the act of putting in when her alarm occasioned by their approach had caused her to flee to the garrison house, and not so much as awakening an infant child that lay quietly sleeping in its cradle, having been forgotten by Mrs. Ewell, its grandmother, in her hasty flight. While the attention of the Indians was directed to

another part of the settlement, Mrs. Ewell returned and found the child still enjoying its undisturbed nap, and carried it to a place of safety. At a later hour in the day, the Indians are believed to have returned and burned the house. The Indians continued their attack on the garrison house at Charles Stockbridge's for several hours, and it was not until night that they were successfully repulsed, English reinforcements having arrived under the command of Lieut. Isaac Buck and Cornet Robert Stetson.

William Blackmore was killed, and John James mortally wounded. He survived the injury about six weeks and then died. These particulars of the attack on Scituate are mainly gathered from Rev. Mr. Deane's History of that town, a very valuable work, published about half a century ago.

Gen. Josias Winslow, writing to Thomas Hinckley and John Freeman, said: "The last Tuesday they killed a man between Hingham and Conohaset, and then fell to burning, beginning with Mr. Tilden's saw mill* and Jo. Sylvester's house and barn; but not a man from Scituate would stir to remove them. But fourteen of our towns warders marched up to Jo. Barestoe's; but being unhappily discovered by them also, they ran away, leaving some horses and cattle they were about to carry away, and those horses at that time spared from the flames. Taunton and Bridgewater men are confident that they are planting about Assawamset or Dartmouth; and did yesterday track two hundred of them as they judge towards Assawamset." In another part of the same letter, Gen. Josias Winslow said: "The people in all our towns (Scituate excepted) are very desirous to be ranging after the enemy." These extracts of Gen.

* Deane's History of Scituate says that it was Cornet Robert Stetson's saw-mill.

Winslow's letter, are copied from Collections of Mass. Historical Society, Volume 5, fourth series, pages 8 and 9. The day before that on which the attack was made at Scituate, John Jacob was slain by Indians near his father's house in Hingham.* He went out to shoot a deer that trespassed upon a field of wheat. The Indians broke his gun and left it with his corpse. The next day, viz., that of the attack at Scituate, the Indians burned the houses of Joseph Jones, Anthony Sprague, Israel Hobart, Nathaniel Chubbuck and James Whiton in Hingham. (See Hobart's Journal.)

Increase Mather's brief history says that the Indians killed a man in Weymouth, April 19, 1676, and the records of that town state that "Sergeant Pratt"† was the man slain. As Scituate, Hingham and Weymouth are adjoining towns, it is but reasonable to believe that Tuspaquin's Indians committed all the acts described in those localities, on the 19th and 20th of April, 1676.

Rev. James Keith, of Bridgewater, in a letter dated April 17, 1676, said: "The 9th of this instant, being the Lord's Day, as we were at meeting in the forenoon, we were alarmed by the shooting of some guns from some of our garrisons upon discovery of a house being on fire; which was Robert Latham's. His dwelling house and barn are wholly consumed. The house was deserted but a few days before. He had considerable loss of lumber; the corn and the chief of his goods were saved. There were divers other out-houses rifled at the same time, but no more burnt. There was a horse or two killed, three or four carried away; some few swine killed. We sent out a party of men on the

* Mass. Col. Records, vol. v. p. 75, and under date of Feb. 20, 1676, state that it was "ordered on request of Capt. Jno. Jacob, his house standing on the passe between this Colony & Plymouth, be forthwith garrisoned, & such as are his nearest neighbors are to joyne therein."

† Sergeant was probably the military title, instead of the christian name, of that man Pratt.

Lord's Day night upon discovery ; who found their trackings. Our men judged there might be about ten of them. They followed them by their trackings for several miles ; but having no provisions with them they were forced to leave the pursuit. We are in expectation every day of an assault here. The Lord prepare us for our trial." That "expectation every day of an assault" was realized on the 8th of May, 1676, when, as Increase Mather informs us, "About Seventeen Houses and Barns did the Indians destroy at Bridgewater. But the Lord in the nick of time sent thunder and rain, and caused the enemy to turn back." That the chieftain Tuspaquin was promptly on hand at this destruction of Bridgewater there is no reason to doubt ; but whether "in the nick of time" we are not so well assured.

Barber's Historical Collections of Mass., page 531, state that, "On May 8th, about three hundred Indians with Tuspaquin for their leader, made another assault on the east end of the town on the south side of the river, and set fire to many of the houses, but the inhabitants issuing from their houses, fell upon them so resolutely that the enemy were repelled, and a heavy shower of rain falling at the same time, the fires were soon extinguished. The attack was then renewed on the north side of the river, but the enemy were soon defeated and the next morning entirely disappeared." So much for assistance rendered to Bridgewater people "in the nick of time." But we have omitted a part of Mr. Barber's statement, which was that the Indians "entirely disappeared after burning two houses and one barn," which act, viewing the matter from Mather's standpoint, must have resulted from the Lord's not being on hand "in the nick time," for Barber is very explicit in stating that 13 houses and 4 barns were burned during this attack. Mather said about 17

houses and barns. It would be interesting to learn how many were saved by special providence "in the nick of time." Mr. Barber further stated that but five of the buildings then burned were in the village; the rest were on the borders of the settlement and deserted at the time.

July 25, 1676, Capt. Benjamin Church captured quite a company of Tuspaquin's men and carried them as prisoners of war to Plymouth, and one of these named Jeffrey became a soldier under Church. Church soon after captured a small tribe of Indians called the Moonponsets, whose place of residence was in what is now the town of Halifax.* He soon after captured at Nemasket sixteen of Tuspaquin's men, by whom he learned that that chief, with a numerous company, was at Assawamset, now Lakeville. At the small stream that runs from the Long Pond into the Assawamset, and where a bridge now spans that stream, Church, with the English forces under his command, encoun-

* The writer of this book has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a very interesting letter from Capt. Ephraim B. Thompson, of Halifax. Under date of Dec. 4, 1877, he states that it was on an island in the Moonponset Pond in what is now the township of Halifax, in Plymouth County, Mass., that the chieftain Wamsutta was captured, for an account of which see pages 41, 42 and 43 of this book. Capt. Thompson further says that tradition informs that Wamsutta's wigwam was on the south-westerly side of the Island, where the scenery is even now most wild and romantic. He continues: "The Island contains some twelve acres, formerly was cultivated but now is a dense pine forest, has been called or known as 'White's Island,' is now owned by Mr. Galen Manley of West Bridgewater." Moonponset Pond in Halifax was doubtless among the haunts, and furnished at least a part of the home comforts of the Moonponset Indians captured by Capt. Benjamin Church in 1676, or about 14 years after the capture of the chieftain Wamsutta, by the then Major (afterwards General and Governor) Josias Winslow of Marshfield. Thus we learn that stirring events in days of old transpired in what is now the extremely quiet and comparatively unknown township of Halifax, that if we mistake not boasts of having neither a lawyer, doctor or minister among its inhabitants, and but for its central location in Plymouth County would not have been the great parade ground for the local militia that has rendered "Halifax Muster" familiar, historic, yea classic, to the ears of the Old Colony people for the last century; and now that the mustering at that place is over, we may ask what shall awake the locality and its people to glory again?

tered* Tuspaquin and his Indians. This was just in the dusk of the evening, and after the exchange of a few shots the Indians fell back, and Church with his followers went on about one mile into Assawamset Neck,† and toward morning proceeded on to Acushnet river, being fired on by Tuspaquin's scouts while traversing Assawamset Neck, but sustaining no injury.

Sept. 5, 1676, Church made prisoners of a company of Tuspaquin's people at or near Sippican, afterward Rochester. He also learned that the chief was gone to Agawam, now Wareham. Church carried away his prisoners, save two old squaws whom he left to inform the chief at his return, "that Church had been there and had taken his wife and children and company and carried them down to Plymouth, and would spare all their lives, and his too if he would come down to them and bring the other two that were with him." Church went from Plymouth to Boston for a few days, and when he returned to Plymouth he found that Tuspaquin, relying upon his promise, had visited Plymouth, surrendered himself, and had immediately been put to death. Church informs us that he had and was acting upon a commission from the Plymouth colony government that authorized him to "raise and dismiss his forces as he should see occasion ; to commission officers under him, and to march as far as he should see cause within the limits of the three united colonies ; to receive to mercy, give quarter or not, excepting some particular and noted murderers, viz., Philip and all that were

* The place of that encounter is between the summer residence of Mr. Eben Perry and the house of Mr. S. Dean Pickens, on the old stage road from Lakeville to New Bedford. Mr. Perry's residence is on the site of what was once "Foster's tavern," and the same house wherein was for many years kept the noted "Sampson's Tavern."

† The spot where Church and his soldiers spent the most of that night is thought to have been upon the farm of the late Job Peirce Nelson, Esq., and now occupied by his son Sidney T. Nelson. That farm has been owned by the Nelsons ever since 1714, or about 164 years.

at the destroying of Mr. Clark's garrison, and some few others."

Tuspaquin comes under neither of these descriptions, unless ranked among those alluded to under the term "some few others;" and if so, why did Church presume to promise to "receive to mercy," give quarter, spare his life, and the lives of the two he was requested to bring with him to Plymouth?

ANNAWON

Was of the Wampanoag tribe, and at the date of King Philip's war must have been considerably advanced in life, as Church informs us that Annawon told him that he had served as a captain under Osamequin, Philip's father, and Osamequin at that time had been dead some 15 years. Probably King Philip was the third chief under whom the veteran officer Annawon had served. Little if anything appears in history concerning Annawon, until the battle near Mount Hope, August 12, 1676, in which King Philip was slain. In that battle Annawon behaved bravely; he did his whole duty in endeavoring to sustain the failing fortunes of his chief, and when further resistance was in vain he showed that great and very essential accomplishment in a military leader, the ability to conduct an orderly and safe retreat.

Capt. Benjamin Church, to whom the world now owes most that can be learned concerning Annawon, says that at the moment when King Philip fell with one bullet through his heart and another not over two inches from it, he for the first time discovered Annawon, who, "with a loud voice, often called out *Iootash*, *Iootash*." Captain Church called to his Indian, Peter, and asked him who that was that called so. He answered, it was old Annawon, Philip's great captain, calling on his soldiers to stand to it and fight stoutly.

That was on Saturday, August 12, 1676, and Church and his soldiers returned the same day to the island of Rhode Island, where he and they remained until Tuesday of the next week, when they all went ranging through the woods to Plymouth to collect the "thirty pieces of silver" that government allowed per head for each Indian he and his company had slain or captured. Capt. Church's son who was his amanuensis, adds, "methinks it was a scanty reward and poor encouragement." If Church and his men went to hunt Indians as an act of patriotism, if they put their lives in jeopardy for the saving of their country, it seems to the writer of this book that they never would have stopped to consider whether 30 shillings apiece for each Indian slain or captured was a small or large price, and let us hope that none of them save Church did. But if they went forth simply as executioners, man catchers, replenishers of the slave market, why that was another thing. Some of the worst criminals that the world has ever known have been employed as executioners, and the meanest specimens of human nature for money have been hired to take human life, and nobody would or could or did think any less of them even though they haggled with their employers about the price of their dirty and detestable work.

Capt. Church's son adds, that "For this march they received four shillings and sixpence a man, which was all the reward they had, except the honor of killing Philip."

How is the lustre of the name and the glory which has been accorded to the acts of Benjamin Church, dimmed by those two sentences in his history, written and published nearly forty years after the war with Philip had ended, and when, if ever, the warrior's soul would have been so enlarged as never to reckon for himself, or allow others to weigh as in a balance for

him, true honor, pure patriotism, and the paltry sum of a few shillings, the same number of pieces for which the traitor Judas sold unto death the innocent blood of his master ! Yes, reader, just think of it, and let writer and reader blush with shame every time we think of it, that one whom we have been taught to consider as one of the brightest stars in our constellation of martial glory, noble self denial, and patriotism, as exemplified two hundred years ago, a man we have fondly hoped was greatly in advance of others of his nation in the day, age and country in which he lived, allowed his son unrebuked to reckon for him and give publicity to his shameful comparisons between the priceless reward of well doing, of pure patriotism, true honor, and four shillings and sixpence in money ! As though one bore or could possibly bear any proper comparison with the other ! If the father ever had any just and correct ideas of real honor, it seems that in his dotage these had been destroyed, or at least seriously effaced ; but the shamelessness and moral obtuseness of the son makes it quite reasonable to conclude that he never had any.

In a note on the 161st page of this book, reference was had to the fact that not far from the date of Capt. Benjamin Church's death,* his son or sons received, from the Mass. government, grants of large tracts of wild uncultivated lands, to satisfy the demands and claims set up for the unrequited services of Capt. Benjamin

* Inscription upon the stone that marks the grave of Benjamin Church at Little Compton, R. I., where he died from the effects of being thrown from a horse.

“Here lieth interred the body
of the Honourable
Col. Benjamin Church Esq.
who departed this life
January the 17th 1717-18,
in the 78th year of his age.”

As we now compute time, the date of Church's death was in 1718, and the double dating on his tomb stone was to enable the reading in either old style or new style.

Church in the Indian Wars ; and this fact, taken in connection with the oft repeated complaints indulged in by the son who was amanuensis for the father, in arranging those materials for the press that appeared in Church's History, published in 1716, or about two years before that veteran officer's death, leads the writer of this book to suspect that the desire of Church's children to put money in their purse had in reality much more to do with the writing and printing of the "narrative of many passages relating to the former and latter wars" than the father's conviction that "every particle of historical truth is precious," or his "having laid" himself "under a solemn promise that the many and repeated favors of God" to him and those with him "in the service might be published for generations to come."

The faithful few that remained of the once powerful band of warriors that had followed King Philip on the war path, those who had escaped death and were above desertion, with the sachem Annawon who had come to the chief command since the death of Philip, were captured by Capt. Benjamin Church and his command, August 28, 1676, at a place since known as "Annawon's Rock," in the extreme easterly part of Rehoboth, and only a few rods south of the turnpike road leading from Taunton to Providence, about 8 miles from Taunton and 10 from Providence. This noted rock extends north-east and south-west some 75 feet, and is in height about 25 feet.

The writer of this book has several times visited this spot and taken great interest in examining the locality. It is on the northern border of a wooded country, anciently known as Squannakonk Swamp, that is said to have embraced an area of nearly three thousand acres, and being probably inaccessible save when frozen, doubtless Annawon confidently and reasonably relied

upon it to protect him and his warriors from an English attack on that side. Annawon's lodging place was in part formed by felling a tree against the nearly perpendicular side of the rock, and setting up boughs of trees or bushes on the sides, and under this kind of arbor, Annawon, with his son, who was called young Annawon, and a few of Annawon's principal men slept. This lodging place was on a kind of terrace, and from half to two thirds the distance from the ground (next the swamp) to the top of the rock, as though the rock had been cut down nearly perpendicularly, part way from its summit to the base, and the stone taken out, thus leaving a kind of terrace, or shelf, stoned up on one side and one end, and supplied with a comparatively level bottom or floor, on which to spread the mats for their beds. Such is my recollection of the place as it appeared to me, and the difficulty of getting to it from the summit of the rock was much less than I had anticipated from reading Church's description of his descent when in pursuit of the chieftain Annawon.

[While writing this book the author at this point broke off suddenly and delayed the writing and printing of this account until he had time and opportunity to revisit the "Annawon Rock," so called, which when done he continued as follows:]

The writer of this book must confess that he felt considerable disappointment when visiting for the first time the Annawon Rock, as he did about twenty years ago, to find so few evidences of the natural difficulties complained of by Capt. Church in getting from its top to the camping place of Annawon, which he discovered while on the rock. I had always been accustomed from youth to consider the feat both difficult and dangerous, from Church's description of the same, which I will now quote. An Indian deserter from Annawon was Church's pilot, of whom Church said,

"The old man had given Capt. Church a description of the place where Annawon now lay, and of the difficulty of getting at him. Being sensible that they were pretty near them, with two of his Indians he creeps to the edge of the rocks from whence he could see their camps. He saw three companies of Indians at a little distance from each other, being easy to be discovered by the light of their fires. He saw also the great Annawon and his company who had formed his camp or kennelling place by falling a tree under the side of the great clefts of rocks, and setting a row of birch bushes up against it where himself, his son and some of his chiefs had taken up their lodging and made great fires without them and had their pots and kettles boiling and spits roasting. Their arms also he discovered all set together in a place fitted for the purpose, standing upon end against a stick lodged in two crotches, and a mat placed over them to keep them from the wet or dew. The old Annawon's feet and his son's head were so near the arms as almost to touch them, but the rocks were so steep that it was impossible to get down only as they lowered themselves by the boughs and bushes that grew in the cracks of the rocks. Captain Church, creeping back again to the old man, asked him if there was no possibility of getting at them some other way. He answered, no; that he and all that belonged to Annawon were ordered to come that way, and none could come any other way without difficulty or danger of being shot."

Had Church proceeded about forty feet further, he would have been enabled to go around the rock and come into Annawon's camp on firm and nearly level ground; but this he would not do, from the danger of being shot, and so he encountered the great danger, and difficulty too, as he would have us believe, of lowering himself down by the boughs and bushes that grew in

the cracks of the rocks, and without which "it was impossible to get down." The spot where Annawon and son were lying, being, as I have already stated, part way from the summit to the base of the rock, is well defined, and so far as I can learn unquestioned and undisputed; and yet, from my remembrance of it, as seen at the time mentioned, this difficult and perilous descent which so appalled Capt. Church that he anxiously inquired "if there was no possibility of getting at them in some other way," was not more than eight feet in height nor quite perpendicular in descent. But lest I should do injustice to the truth were I to state my recollections as a fact, I have delayed to finish what I had proposed to write concerning the matter, till I could assure myself that my former conclusions were correct and recollections true. Accordingly, on the 22d of May, 1878, I rode 10 miles expressly to revisit the Annawon rock, and from an actual and careful measurement then made, am now prepared to testify that the descent was only six feet, and its angle little if any sharper than that of 45 degrees.

I am nineteen years older than Capt. Church was when he performed this feat that has been wondered at and applauded for more than two hundred years, and in that nineteen years I have grown, as Church would express it, "ancient and heavy" as well as clumsy; he had two strong arms and two very active hands, while I have but one arm, and one hand and that an awkward left one; and yet I passed down the rock and passed up again without the aid of boughs or bushes, and in fact experienced less difficulty in doing so than in getting over many an ordinary stone wall.

From where Annawon and son were sleeping, to the level ground near the rock where the other Indians were encamped, is so easy and gradual in descent that neither man nor beast would find it difficult to pass

either up or down, though the perpendicular height of that part where Annawon and son were, above the ground where the most of his Indians were encamped, considerably exceeds the distance from the chief's resting place to the summit of the rock.

There is one other place on the "Annawon Rock" that some persons possibly may contend was where Annawon and son were lying when captured by Capt. Benjamin Church, and to all such let me say that on my visit to the place, May 22, 1878, I took pains to measure the distance of that position from the summit of the rock, and found it to be four feet and six inches. But to contend that this was in fact the place, adds no support, but rather detracts from the pretensions of Church, and besides it is not so well supported either by tradition or established facts. The writer much prefers to give Capt. Church the benefit of the additional eighteen inches to help out his story of the great peril that he encountered in descending the precipice by clinging to boughs and bushes that grew in the cracks of the rocks. This over-estimate of the peril in descending was probably on a par with the bragging indulged in when describing the other details of the feat of capturing Annawon, who with his company were very poorly supplied with both arms and ammunition, reduced to a comparative handful in numbers, distressed, dispirited, and every day growing more feeble by constant and continual captures by the enemy and desertions to the English. Those deserters too from Annawon's camp were now with Church, acquainting him with every particular relating to its location, construction, defences and weaknesses. In short, Annawon and his company were captured without the discharge of an arrow, the stroke of a tomahawk, or the firing of a musket on either side; and why might they not have been expected thus to be overpowered

and captured, overwhelmed as they were with difficulties insurmountable, and the numberless advantages enjoyed by the English and others under the lead of Capt. Church, who, had he possessed a spark of generosity and true manliness, instead of falsifying as evidently he or his son did in stating the details of the transaction, overestimating the difficulties encountered, and laying claim to the exercise of a courage neither required nor put in practice, would have felt what the poet has more elegantly expressed—

“Indulge, our native land, indulge a tear
That steals impassioned o’er a nation’s doom ;
To us each twig from Adams stock is dear,
And tears of sorrow deck an Indian’s tomb.”

That noble old chief, the “tried and true,” faithful to the last, the aged Annawon, captain under Massasoit, Wamsutta and King Philip, and by the last regarded as his “great captain,” was by the English executed in Plymouth soon after his capture in Rehoboth.

V.

GENEALOGY.

1. MASSASOIT,¹ alias Asamequin, or Osamequin, chief of the Wampanoag tribe of Indians at the time of the landing of the English at Plymouth, had children as follows :

2. WAMSUTTA,² b. at date unknown; m. Namumpum, alias Tatapanum, alias Weetamoo, and sometimes called the Squaw Sachem of Pocasset. Wamsutta appears to have first received the name of Moonanam, which was changed in or about 1641 to Wamsutta; and a few years later he accepted from the English the name of Alexander. He d. in 1662. His wife, thus made a widow, contracted a second marriage with an Indian named Petonowewett; and as he took part with the English in King Philip's war, she left him and became the wife of a Narraganset Sachem named Quinapin whom the English put to death at Newport, R. I., Aug. 25, 1676. Weetamoo was drowned in Taunton River, Aug. 6, 1676. Her remains drifted on shore in the town of Swansea. (See pages 37 to 51 and 152.)

3. METACOM,² alias Pometacom, who accepted from the English the name of Philip, but now better known in history as KING PHILIP. The date of his birth is unknown. He m. Wootonekanuske, a sister of Weetamoo. What I have been able to glean of the personal histories of both, appears in former pages of this book. He was killed in battle near Mount Hope, in what is now the township of Bristol, R. I., Aug. 12, 1676. He had a son whose name at this time cannot be certainly ascertained. This son, while yet a child, was captured by the English and sold into slavery.

4. SONKANUHO,² who was perhaps identical with the brother of King Philip said to have been slain at the fight in a swamp in Pocasset (afterwards Tiverton), July 18, 1675. (See page 102.)
5. A DAUGHTER,² whose name is to me unknown. She is said to have been captured by the English, July 31, 1676. (See page 151.)
- +6. AMIE,² m. Tuspaquin, the Black Sachem.

AMIE² [No.6] (*Massasoit*¹), daughter of Massasoit, chief of the Wampanoags, was born at a date unknown. She became the wife of the Black Sachem, so called, the chief of the Assawamset Indians. His name appears in history as Tuspaquin, and also as Watuspaquin. He followed the fortunes of his brother-in-law Philip, was captured by the English and put to death at Plymouth some time in September, 1676. (See p. 200.)

TUSPAQUIN and wife AMIE² had children as follows :

7. WILLIAM,³ was so called by the English, though his Indian name was Mantowapuct. He joined in the deeds of conveyance of lands under dates of July 17, 1669, June 10, 1670, June 30, 1672, May 14, 1675. Mantowapuct alias William Tuspaquin, with Assaweta, Tobias and Bewat, for £10. sold to three English people at Barnstable a tract of land bounded on Quetaquash Pond, northerly of Quetaquash River and easterly of Suepetuitt Pond. He also joined his father in a deed of land to an Indian named Felix, a son-in-law of John Sassamon. That deed was dated March 11, 1673 (O. S.). So far as I can learn, he never married. It is thought he lost his life in King Philip's war, as he was alive up to May 14, 1675, and no mention is made of him after that date.
- +8. BENJAMIN,³ m. Weecum.

BENJAMIN TUSPAQUIN³ [No.8] (*Amie*,² *Massasoit*¹), son of Tuspaquin, was born at a date unknown at the present time. He was somewhat distinguished as a warrior, and had a piece of his jaw shot off in battle. He married an Indian named Weecum. He died suddenly, while sitting in his wigwam, having just before complained of feeling faint. He served the English in Capt. James Church's company.*

BENJAMIN TUSPAQUIN³ and wife WEECUM had children as follows :

9. ESTHER,⁴ b. at date unknown; m. Tobias Sampson; they had no children. Tobias Sampson was what was called "a praying Indian," and used to preach at his house in what was then South Freetown, but now East Fall River; by which his house acquired the name of the "Indian College"—or at least such is the tradition.
10. HANNAH,⁴ m. an Indian named Quam, and had two children: i. *Hope*,⁵ never m.; she taught school at what is called Indian Town in Fall River. ii. *John*,⁵ never m.; he was lost at sea. (Tradition).
11. MARY,⁴ m. Isaac Sissel,[†] and had three children:

* By a resolve of the general court of Massachusetts, passed in 1701, was granted to Capt. James Church and certain members of his company of friendly Indians, in consideration of services rendered by them to the Province, a tract of land in what was then Freetown, but now East Fall River. This Indian plantation was afterwards surveyed and divided into 25 lots, of which the 19th, 20th, 21st and 22d lots were assigned to the lineal descendants of Benjamin Tuspaquin. The first survey and division of these Indian lands was made about 1707, in which no provision was made for services of Benjamin Tuspaquin and quite a number of other soldiers, together with the Lieut. of Capt. James Church's company, who were by that division left unprovided for, but were taken into the account and provided for in the second survey and division, made in 1764.

† At the first survey and original division of the Indian lands in what is now East Fall River, Isaac Sissell received for his share the 20th lot, containing 6 acres and 128 rods. That assignment was made about the year 1707. At the second survey, made by Zebedee Terry, of Freetown, in 1764, the 20th lot was reported as then being in the possession of Mercy and Mary, daughters of Isaac Sissell. At the date of the second survey, the 19th lot was reported to belong to "Esther Sampson and Sarah Squin," who were called "grandchildren of Benjamin Squamnaway." Doubtless the Benjamin Squamnaway was in fact Benjamin Tuspaquin.

Mercy,⁵ *Mary*,⁵ and *Arbella*.⁵ Two of the children died in infancy. (Tradition.)

+12. BENJAMIN,⁴ m. Mercy Felix, of Middleborough, that part now Lakeville.

BENJAMIN TUSPAQUIN⁴ [No. 12] (*Benjamin*,³ *Amie*,² *Massasoit*¹), son of Benjamin by wife Weecum, was born at date unknown. He married Mercy Felix.

BENJAMIN TUSPAQUIN⁴ and wife MERCY FELIX had one child :

+13. LYDIA,⁵ m. Wamsley. He went to sea and never returned.

NOTE.—Mercy Felix, who became the wife of Benjamin Tuspauquin [No. 12], was a daughter of an Indian named Felix, who married Assowetough, a daughter of John Sassamon, alias Wassasamon. The Indian Felix received from the Sachem Tuspauquin, and his son William Tuspauquin, a deed of 58½ acres of land, as "a home lott," March 11, 1673, O. S. That land is in what is now the town of Lakeville. The chief, Tuspauquin, and his son William Tuspauquin, by deed without a date, save that of the year 1673, conveyed to John Sassamon, alias Wassasamon, "27 acres of land for a home lot at Assowamsett necke," which land Sassamon not long after in writing conveyed to his son-in-law Felix, the husband of his daughter Assowetough. Under date of Dec. 23, 1673, Tuspauquin, with his son William Tuspauquin, "with the consent of all the chieffe men of Assowamsett," conveyed by deed of gift to Assowetough, daughter of John Sassamon, a neck of land at Assowamset, called Nahteawamet, bounded by Mashquomoh swamp, Sasonkususet pond, and a large pond called Chupipoggut. In 1679, Governor Winslow, of the Plymouth Colony, ordered "that all such lands as were formerly John Sassamon's in our collonie, shal be settled on

At the same time the 22d lot was reported to belong to Comfort and Thankful, grandchildren of "Benjamin Squannamay"; and this latter, and Benjamin Squamnoway and Benjamin Tuspauquin I take it was the same person.

Felix his son-in-law," and to remain his and his heirs forever. The Indian, Felix, died before Assowetough, the wife, and she, in a will made in 1696, gave her lands to her daughter Mercy Felix, the wife of Benjamin Tuspaquin [No. 12]. Thus we see that Benjamin Tuspaquin [No. 12], a great-grandson of the chieftain Massasoit, married Mercy Felix, a granddaughter of John Sassamon, and thus the lands granted to John Sassamon and to his daughter Assowetough, and to her husband Felix, came into the possession and ownership of the Tuspaquin family. As Assowetough the daughter of John Sassamon received from the English the name of Betty, her lands thus came to be called, and are still known as "Betty's Neck." Esther Sampson, Hannah Quam and Mary Sissel were quite indignant at this act of their brother Benjamin Tuspaquin, viz., marrying a granddaughter of John Sassamon, whom they regarded as the prime betrayer of the cause of their countrymen and people in the struggle still known as King Philip's war; a conflict in which their grandfather, the Black Sachem Tuspaquin, had laid down his life, their great uncle Philip had lost his kingdom and life, and the hopes of the red men had perished. And the strong dislike of these Indian women did not end with the person of their brother's wife, but was entertained also against their brother's daughter, Lydia Tuspaquin, the wife of the Indian Wamsley and grandmother of Mrs. Zerviah Gould Mitchell, the publisher of this book. Another objection to the wife of Benjamin Tuspaquin, entertained by his sisters, doubtless was that the Indian Felix, in King Philip's war, had taken part with and fought for the English. In the war with the Pequots, waged in 1637, an Indian named "Sosomon" assisted the English, and as the men of the Pequot tribe were then nearly all slain, the women and children were appropriated by the victors and sold as slaves. Capt. Israel Stoughton wrote to the Governor of Massachusetts: "By this pinnace you shall receive 48 or 50 women and children unless there stay any here to be helpful. Concerning which there is one, I formerly mentioned, that is the fairest and largest that I saw amongst them, to whom I have given a coat to cloathe her. It is my desire to have her for a servant if it may stand with your good liking—else not. There is a little squaw that Steward Culacut desireth, to

whom I have given a coat. Lieut. Davenport also desireth one, to wit, a small one &c. Sosomon the Indian desireth a young little squaw, which I know not."

In the Tuspaquin family it is handed down traditionally that the Indian Sosomon, who aided the English in the Pequot War, was identical with John Sassamon, the educated and praying Indian, and that the "young little squaw" he desired and was permitted from among the female captives to take, was a daughter of the Pequot chief Sassacus, which daughter, Sassamon made his wife, and she thus became the mother of Assowetough, who by the English was called Betty. Admitting the truth of this Indian tradition, and our publisher, Mrs. Mitchell, is shown to be of the sixth generation in lineal descent from Sassacus, the earliest chief known of the numerous and powerful Pequot tribe of Indians.

LYDIA TUSPAQUIN⁵ [No. 13] (*Benjamin*,⁴ *Benjamin*,³ *Amie*,² *Massasoit*¹), daughter of Benjamin Tuspaquin, by wife Mercy Felix, married an Indian named Wamsley. She was drowned in Assowamset Pond, July, 1812. She was born at what is still known as "Betty's Neck," then in Middleborough, but now in Lakeville. Both her parents died when she was but a child, but her grandfather Benjamin [No. 8] continued to care for her as long as he lived, and while Lydia was still young, she went to live with Joanna Hunt, who married a Mr. Moore, and afterwards resided in Petersham, Mass., Lydia accompanying them, they caring for her as if she had been their own child. Improving these opportunities, Lydia attended school and became quite a good scholar, and in after life became the chief amanuensis of her people residing at "Betty's Neck." While she was residing at Petersham, a bear came one night and took a small pig, when in the darkness Lydia resolutely rushed out, musket in hand, shot the bear and saved the pig before bruin had time to kill it. Lydia claimed great skill in the healing

art, and was in the act of gathering herbs for medical purposes, when she fell from a high bank into Assawomset Pond and was drowned. Her married life was mostly spent at Betty's Neck. What is here stated concerning Lydia Tuspaquin was communicated by Mrs. Zerviah Gould Mitchell, of North Abington, a granddaughter and the publisher of this book, to whose retentive memory the writer is indebted for much of the genealogical as also other information herein contained.

WAMSLEY and wife LYDIA TUSPAQUIN⁵ had children as follows :

14. ZERVIAH,⁶ b. in 176—; m. Dec. 4, 1791, James Johnson, of Gayhead. She died in July, 1816. They had one child, named *Arabella*, that d. when 3 months old.
15. PAUL,⁶ b. 176—; m. Phebe Jeffries, and had: i. *Mary*.⁷
 ii. *Jane*,⁷ m. John Rosier of Middleborough, that part now Lakeville; he was drowned in Feb. 1851.
 iii. *Wealthy*.⁷ iv. *Lydia*.⁷ v. *Ephraim*,⁷ never married. vi. *Bathsheba*,⁷ m. ——— Munroe. vii. ——— (name not now remembered).
- +16. PHEBE,⁶ b. Feb. 26, 1770; d. Aug. 16, 1839; m. twice—1st, Silas Rosier, and 2d, Brister Gould.
17. JANE,⁶ b. in or about 1771; d. April 15, 1794, aged about 23 years.
18. BENJAMIN,⁶ b. about 1773; d. April 22, 1799, aged about 26 years.

PHEBE WAMSLEY⁶ [No.16] (*Lydia Tuspaquin*,⁵ *Benjamin*,⁴ *Benjamin*,³ *Amie*,² *Massasoit*¹), daughter of Wamsley and Lydia Tuspaquin, was born Feb. 26, 1770. She married 1st, Nov. 27, 1791, Silas Rosier, an Indian of the Marshpee tribe, who served as private soldier in the patriot army of the war of American Revolution, entering that service at the commencement



MELINDA MITCHELL.
(Indian name, TEWEELEMA.)

of the conflict, and serving until its close. He died at sea, and his widow married 2d, March 4, 1797, Brister Gould. He for a time served as teamster to the patriot army in our revolutionary war. He was drowned at a place called Hawkley, in East Weymouth, Mass., Aug. 28, 1823. She died Aug. 16, 1839.

SILAS ROSIER and wife PHEBE WAMSLEY⁶ had children as follows :

19. MARTIN,⁷ b. June, 1792; d. July, 1792.
20. JOHN,⁷ b. Sept. 15, 1793; m. Jane Wamsley, his cousin, a daughter of Paul Wamsley and wife Phebe Jeffries. John Rosier was a sailor on board the U. S. Frigate "Macedonia," and was drowned in the Assawomset Pond, Middleborough, February, 1851. At the date of his death he resided at Betty's Neck, in what was then Middleborough, but now the town of Lakeville. They had a son *John*⁸, who was also a sailor, and never married.

BRISTER GOULD and wife PHEBE WAMSLEY⁶ had children as follows :

21. BETSEY,⁷ b. Nov. 26, 1797; m. Aug. 7, 1816, James Hill of Boston; d. in that place, April 16, 1824. They had children: i. *Keziah*,⁸ b. Jan. 15, 1818; m. Camoralsman Gould, and died Sept. 15, 1844, having had one child. ii. *James*,⁸ b. Sept. 15, 1819; d. Sept. 15, 1821.
22. LYDIA,⁷ b. June 12, 1799; m. Nov. 12, 1819, Antonio D. Julio, a native of Portugal. She died April 22, 1855. They had no children.
23. JANE S.,⁷ b. March 12, 1801; m. July 14, 1821, John Williams. She died in New Orleans, May 27, 1844. They had no children. She was remarkable for her skill in managing a horse, riding on horse-back without saddle or bridle. She was also an expert swimmer, and once when swimming in the water at Ipswich she came near losing her life, from a man who aimed his gun at her head that he mistook for a wild duck. With her hus-

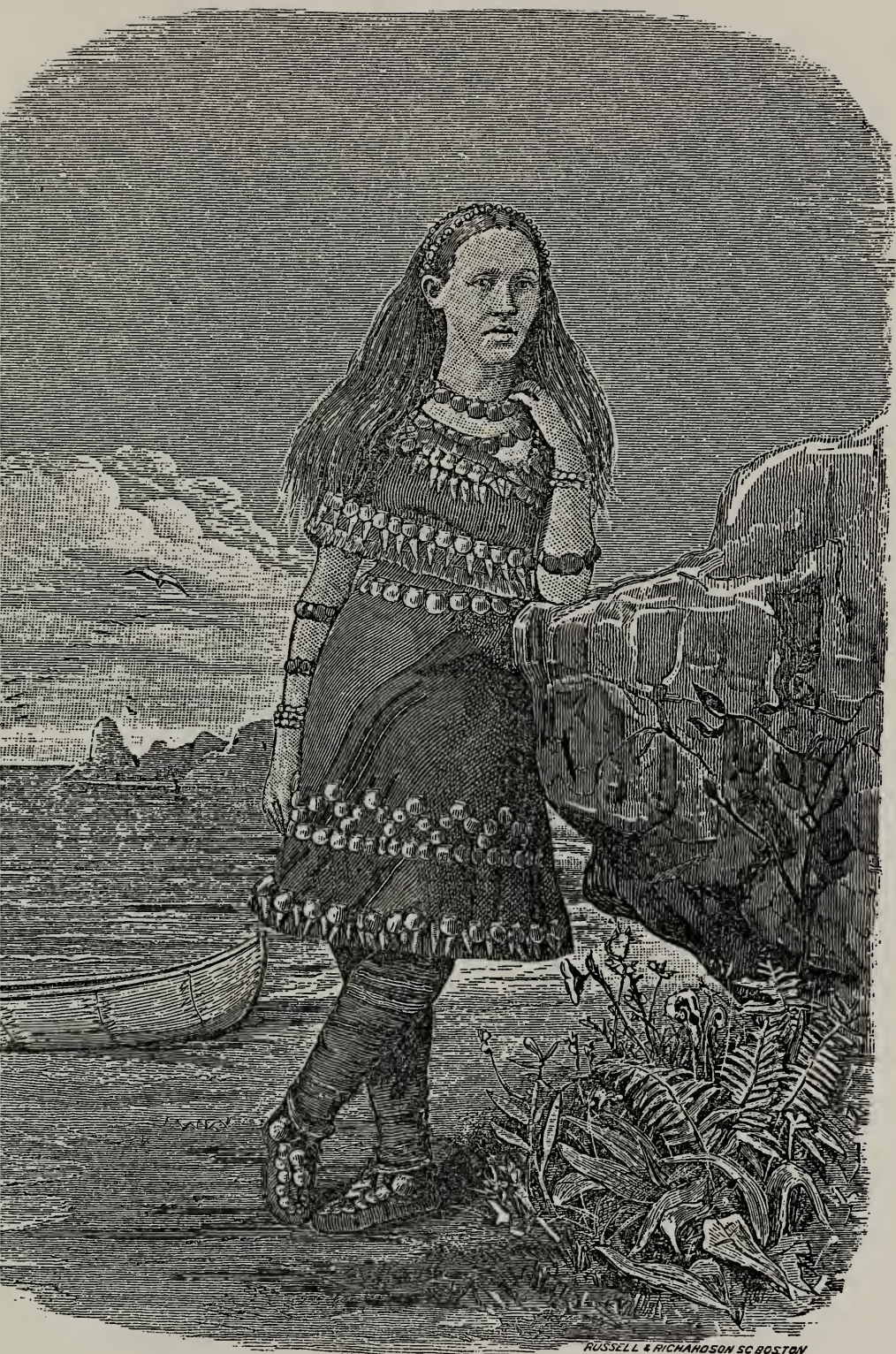
band she visited Paris and other places of note in the old world.

24. RUBY,⁷ b. May 30, 1803; m. Dec. 22, 1824, Benjamin Hall of Philadelphia. She died in or about 1851. They had one child: *Lydia*,⁸ who d. when about 5 years old.
25. MALINDA,⁷ b. April 23, 1805; never married; d. June 16, 1824.
- +26. ZERVIAH,⁷ b. July 24, 1807; m. Oct. 17, 1824, Thomas C. Mitchell. He died March 22, 1859.
27. BENJAMIN S.,⁷ b. Oct. 31, 1809; never married; was lost at sea.

ZERVIAH GOULD⁷ [No. 26] (*Phebe W.*,⁶ *Lydia T.*,⁵ *Benjamin*,⁴ *Benjamin*,³ *Amie*,² *Massasoit*¹), daughter of Brister and Phebe Gould, was born July 24, 1807. She married Thomas C. Mitchell, Oct. 17, 1824. He died in East Fall River, March 22, 1859. She now resides in North Abington, Mass., and is the publisher of this book on Indian History Biography and Genealogy. She was educated in the public schools of Abington and at a private school in Boston, and when a young woman taught a private school in that city.

THOMAS C. MITCHELL and wife ZERVIAH GOULD⁷ had children as follows:

28. JANE W.,⁸ b. in Boston, April 15, 1827; d. in North Abington, March 28, 1840.
29. ZERVIAH G.,⁸ b. in Charlestown, June 17, 1828; was educated in the common schools of Abington, High School at that place, and graduated at Union Academy; m. Nov. 14, 1854, Joseph C. Robinson. They had a child born March 16, 1860; still-born.
30. LEVINA C.,⁸ b. in Charlestown, April 10, 1830; d. June 30, 1841.
31. DELORIS B.,⁸ (Indian name, *Chic-chic-chewee*), b. in North Abington, Aug. 31, 1834; was educated in



CHARLOTTE L. MITCHELL.
(Indian name, WOOTONEKANUSKE.)

- the common schools of Abington, High School of that town, and graduated at Union Academy, E. P. Bates, principal; d. June 2, 1875.
32. MELINDA⁸ (Indian name, *Teweeleema*), b. in North Abington, April 11, 1836. Was educated at the common schools in Abington; Union Academy, W. A. Stone, principal; High School in Abington, E. P. Bates, principal.
 33. THOMAS C.,⁸ b. in North Abington, Nov. 17, 1838. He was drowned while bathing in Elder's Pond in Lakeville, June 16, 1859. He was pursuing studies preparatory for the gospel ministry.
 34. JOHN B.,⁸ b. in North Abington, April 17, 1841. He was lost at sea in September, 1870.
 35. LYDIA A.,⁸ b. Oct. 21, 1843.
 36. EMMA J.,⁸ b. in North Abington, June 2, 1846; m. Jan. 1, 1873, Jacob C. Safford. They had two children: i. *Helen G.*,⁹ b. Oct. 31, 1873. ii. *Alonzo C.*,⁹ b. June 5, 1875.
 37. CARLOTTE L.,⁸ (Indian name, *Wootonekanuske*), b. in North Abington, Nov. 2, 1848; was educated at the common schools in Abington, and one year at the Harvard Street School, in Cambridge.
 38. ALONZO H.,⁸ b. in North Abington, Sept. 1, 1850.

APPENDIX.

PAGE 4.

No. 1.—That section of country, by the Indians called Nauset, was subsequently by the English named EASTHAM. As the town of Eastham, it was incorporated June 2, 1646, and, besides the present township of Eastham, also included the towns of Orleans and Wellfleet.

Orleans was set off from Eastham March 3, 1797, and Wellfleet June 16, 1763. The Indian name for Wellfleet was Punonakauit.

The colonial court of Plymouth made a grant to the Plymouth church, or to those of that church "that go to dwell at Nauset," of all that tract of land lying between sea and sea, from the purchasers' bounds at Namsket to the herring brook at Billingsgate, with said herring brook and all the meadows on both sides of said brook, with great bass pond, these and the meadows and islands within said tract. A very large proportion of the English settlers at Patuxet, now Plymouth, at one time contemplated removal to Eastham, and in or about 1644 seven families established their homes in that place. These seven families numbered 49 persons. Their early town officers were: Nicholas Snow, town clerk; Edward Bangs, treasurer; Josias Cook, constable. Rev Samuel Treat, from Milford, Conn., was the first settled minister. He was distinguished for his evangelical zeal and labors, not only among his own people but also among the Indians in this vicinity; and he was the instrument of converting many of them to the christian faith. He learned their language, and once a month preached in their villages, visited them at their wigwams, and by his kindness and ability won their affections. They venerated him as their pastor, and loved him as their father. In

1693 there were still four Indian villages in what was then Eastham, and the Indian inhabitants had four teachers of their own choice, four school-masters and six magistrates. The religious congregation there numbered five hundred adult persons

Rev. Mr. Treat died soon after that unusual fall of snow called the "Great Snow Storm," which occurred in February, 1717. So deep was the snow near Mr. Treat's house that digging a path for the funeral was deemed out of the question, and the body was kept several days till the snow banks could be tunnelled, and through that snow arch his remains were carried to the grave. The stone that marks his grave informs us that he died March 18, 1717.* At the earnest request of the Indians, they were permitted to carry the corpse to its final resting place. He was a son of Major Robert Treat, of Milford, Conn., commander of the forces of that colony in King Philip's war, and afterwards Governor. Major Robert Treat was great-grandfather to Hon. Robert Treat Paine, a signer of the "Declaration of Independence."

A pear tree transplanted in Eastham by Gov. Thomas Prince was in a vigorous state for more than two hundred years. It was brought from England, and yielded on an average 15 bushels of fruit per year as late as 1840. (Barber's Hist. Collections of Massachusetts.)

Notwithstanding the exertions made in behalf of the Indians at Eastham, they gradually wasted away and constantly diminished in numbers until 1764, when only four remained.

At the great battle with the Indians near what is now Pawtucket, and fought March 26, 1676, John Nessefield and John Walker, of Eastham, were slain. They were soldiers under Capt. Michael Peirse of Scituate, who was also slain.

* The inscription reads as follows: "Here lyes interred y^e body of y^e late learned and Rev^d Mr. Samuel Treat, y^e pious and faithful pastor of this Church, who after a very zealous discharge of his ministry for y^e space of 45 years & a laborious travel for y^e souls of y^e Indian natives, fell asleep in Christ, March y^e 18, 1716-17, in y^e 69 year of his age."

PAGE 17.

No. 2.—WESSAGUSCUS, or Wussagusset, sometimes also written Wessaguson, was settled by Mr. Thomas Weston and his associates from London. Weston in 1622 sent two ships to this place, bringing 50 or 60 adventurers. From the best and most reliable accounts, Weston's company was disorderly, and "many of them rude and profane," robbing the Indians of their corn, which so incensed them that they entered into a conspiracy for the destruction of Weston's company. This was prevented by the interference of Capt. Miles Standish and eight soldiers from Plymouth, who, taking the natives of Wessaguscus somewhat by surprise, killed four of their number, and so terrified the remainder that they forsook their habitations and fled to the swamps and desert places, where from exposure and want many contracted diseases of which they died—this mortality extending to several of their principal warriors and sachems.

In 1624 the settlement of Wessaguscus received an addition of twenty-one families from Weymouth, in England. They were accompanied by Rev. Mr. Hull, who was settled as their gospel minister.

Commissioned officers of the local militia at Weymouth: *Captains*—William Perkins and William Torrey. *Lieutenants*—William Torrey; John Whitman, from May 14, 1645. *Ensign*—John Whitman, to May 14, 1645.

Wessaguscus was incorporated as a township Sept. 2, 1635, and called Weymouth. It sustained an attack from the Indians under King Philip, in 1676, when six or seven houses were burned.

PAGE 18.

No. 3.—Incorporated as a town June 11, 1712, and called Chatham. The soil is rather better than that of the average of Cape Cod towns. The first English purchase of the soil of Manamoick, or Monemoy as it was also called, was under date of April 10, 1665, when the sub-sachem John Quason sold a tract near Potanumaquet, bounded east by Great Harbor, south by a line which extends west by south into the woods from Weequasset

to a pine tree marked on four sides, and north by a line extending to the further head of a pond to a place called Porchommock. William Nickerson was the purchaser, and he made a second purchase June 19, 1672, of land and meadows on the west side of Muddy Cove, and extending southerly to Matchapoxet Pond, thence by a creek to the sea, and extending easterly to Oyster Pond. Mattaquason and John Quason gave this deed.* Under date of March 20, 1678, and Aug. 16, 1682, Nickerson bought more lands of the Indians. The first or earliest minister was Rev. Jonathan Vickery, who commenced his labors in or about 1699.

The following is a copy of an order issued by Gov. Joseph Dudley, chief magistrate of Massachusetts :

Boston, January 26th 1711-12.

Upon application made to me setting forth the danger that the village of Manamoy is in of the French privateers, and the weakness of the inhabitants to defend themselves being so few, I do hereby decree, order and direct that no men of the foot company of the place be taken by impress for any service other than their own Village aforesaid without my especial orders under my hand for so doing.

(Signed) J. DUDLEY.

To the Hon. Colonel Otis,† Barnstable.

PAGE 18.

No. 4.—Nauset, the great granary of the old colony at that date, is now Eastham, on Cape Cod. Of Eastham Mr. Barber, in his Historical Collections, remarks :

“ This town is situated on a narrow part of the peninsula of Cape Cod, and the soil for the most part is but a barren waste of sand.”

In an account given of Eastham in 1802, it was stated that, “ On the west side a beach extends to Great Pond, where it stretches across the township almost to Town Cove. This barren tract, which does not now contain a particle of vegetable mould, formerly produced wheat.

* The consideration of that deed was one shallop, ten coats of trucking cloth, six kettles, twelve axes, twelve hoes, twelve knives, forty shillings in wampum, a hat and twelve shillings in money.

† All the militia of Barnstable county were then organized as one regiment, of which John Otis of Barnstable was colonel.

The soil however was light. The sand in some places, lodging against the beach grass, has been raised into hills fifty feet high, where twenty-five years ago no hills existed. In others, it has filled up small valleys and swamps. Where a strong rooted bush stood, the appearance is singular; a mass of earth and sand adheres to it resembling a small tower. In several places rocks, which were formerly covered with soil, are disclosed, and being lashed with the sand driven against them by the wind, look as if they were recently dug from the quarry."

The Mattachiest, where the pilgrims also went after provisions, is now more generally spelled Mattacheese, and sometimes called Nobscuset. It afterwards became the town of Yarmouth.

PAGE 24.

No. 5.—Gardiner's Neck, in the township of Swansea, is what the Indians called Mettapoiset. It was by the Indians sold to William Brenton of Newport, June 23, 1664, and he gave it to his son Maj. Ebenezer Brenton, who, Dec. 30, 1693, sold it to Lieut. Samuel Gardiner and Ralph Chapman, for £1,700 current money. Lieut. Samuel Gardiner and Ralph Chapman divided their purchase Feb. 14, 1694. The former died on Gardiner's Neck, in Swansea, Dec. 8, 1696. Before going to reside on Gardiner's Neck, he had been a resident of Newport, R. I., and also of Freetown, Mass.

PAGE 31.

No. 6.—Of the Suffolk regiment, John Winthrop, Sr. of Boston, probably continued in command, with the rank and commission of a colonel, from Dec. 13, 1636, to 1644, when the rank of a regimental commander was changed to that of major. The successive commanders of that regiment ranking as major were: Edward Gibbons of Boston, from 1644 to 1649; Humphrey Atherton of Dorchester, from 1649 to 1661; Eleazer Lusher of Dedham, from 1665 to 167—; Thomas Clarke of Boston, from 1673 to 1683; John Richards of Boston, from Oct. 10, 1683, to 1689; Elisha Hutchinson of Boston, from

February, 1689, till the abolition of the office that occurred the same year. In October, 1680, this regiment was divided, and those companies of the towns in Suffolk County that subsequently became the county of Norfolk were set off and thenceforth became a new and distinct regiment.

From 1689, when the rank of regimental commandants was changed from major to colonel, the commanders of the Suffolk regiment were : Samuel Shrimpton of Boston, from April 29, 1689, to 1694 ; Elisha Hutchinson, from 1694 ; Samuel Checkley, from 1705.

The territory of the Suffolk regiment set off Oct. 13, 1680, was what subsequently became the limits of the Norfolk County regiment, and while the rank of regimental commandant was that of major it was commanded as follows : William Stoughton of Dorchester, from Oct. 13, 1680, to March, 1681 ; Joseph Dudley of Roxbury, from March 16, 1681.

Of the Middlesex regiment, John Haynes of Cambridge was commissioned colonel Dec. 13, 1636, and he removed to Hartford, Conn., in 1637 ; was elected governor of Massachusetts in 1635. Roger Harlakenden of Cambridge was commissioned lieutenant colonel of this regiment Dec. 13, 1636 ; died Nov. 17, 1638. Though deprived of a colonel by removal from the colony, and of a lieutenant colonel by death, I fail to find that these vacancies were filled. While the commander of a regiment ranked as a major, the commanders of the Middlesex regiment were as follows : Robert Sedgewick of Charlestown, commissioned 1644 ; Daniel Gookin of Cambridge, commissioned May 5, 1676. After the rank was changed to colonel, the following named gentlemen were in command : William Brattle of Cambridge, from 1739 to 1774 ; Thomas Gardiner, from Nov. 29, 1774, to his death July 3, 1775 ; Stephen Dana of Cambridge, from 1781 to 1796 ; Moses Coolidge ; Amos Bond ; Jeduthan Wellington ; Ebenezer Cheney ; Nathaniel P. Watson.

Oct. 13, 1680, the Middlesex regiment was divided, and that part set off consisted of the companies in the towns of Concord, Sudbury, Marlborough, Chelmsford, Billerica, Groton, Lancaster and Dunstable, together

with a troop of horse under Capt. Thomas Henschman. Of this new regiment, at the date of its formation, Peter Buckley of Concord was commissioned major commandant.

Of the Essex regiment, or what came to be so denominated,* John Endicott of Salem was commissioned colonel, Dec. 13, 1636. The commanders of this regiment who ranked as major were as follows: Daniel Denison of Ipswich, commissioned in 1644; William Hawthorn of Salem, 1656; Samuel Appleton, Oct. 11, 1682. After the rank of a regimental commander was changed, Samuel Appleton was commissioned to command with the rank of colonel.

Essex regiment was divided Oct. 13, 1680, and the companies in the towns of Newbury, Rowley, Bradford, Andover, Topsfield, Salisbury, Amesbury and Haverhill made to constitute a new regiment, of which Nathaniel Saltonstall of Haverhill was commissioned major commandant. After the rank of a regimental commandant had been changed from major to colonel, the names of the commanders of the second Essex regiment were: Nathaniel Saltonstall of Haverhill, from 1689; Richard Saltonstall of Haverhill.

No. 7.

PAGE 34.

ANCIENT REHOBOTH AND THE TITLE OF THE WHITE PEOPLE
THERETO AS CONVEYED TO THEM BY MASSASOIT.

Mr. Leonard Bliss, in his excellent history of Rehoboth published in 1836, says on page 22, "No deed of this purchase from Massasoit is to be found on record or in existence, but there is a deposition of John Hazell on the Plymouth Colony Records [vol. ii. p. 67], taken Nov. 1, 1642, which confirms the purchase. John Hasell [Hazell] affirmeth that Assamequine chose out ten fathome of beads at Mr Williams and put them in a basket and affirmed that he was fully satisfied therewith for his land at Seacunk; but he stood upon it that he would have a coat more, and left the beads with Mr. Williams

* Essex County was not incorporated until the 10th of May, 1643, or six years and about five months after the formation of this regiment.

and willed him to keep them until Mr. Hubbard came up."

Said the Rev. Roger Williams in a letter dated Providence, 13th of the 10th month, 1661, "I testify and declare in the holy presence of God that when at my first coming into these parts I obtained the lands of Secunk of Osamaquin the then chief sachem." In a letter to Maj. Mason, Mr. Williams said, "I first pitched and began to build at Secunk, now Rehoboth."

Concerning the extent of ancient Rehoboth, the colonial records state, "Whereas Mr. Daniel Smith, as agent of the town of Rehoboth, answered at this Court and showed, declared, and made appear unto this Court by several writings and records that the bounds of the said town of Rehoboth are as followeth: The first grant of said township being eight miles square granted in the year 1641 unto Mr. Alexander Winchester, Richard Wright, Mr. Henry Smith, Mr. Joseph Pecke, Mr. Stephen Paine and divers others for the settling of a town which is now bounded from Puttukett river."

This tract comprised not only what is now Rehoboth, but also the townships of Seekonk and Pawtucket. Rehoboth, in its greatest extent, at one time also embraced the present towns of Attleborough and part of Swansea, Mass., all of Cumberland and part of Barrington, R. I.

The purchases were made of the Indians at three different periods of time. The first purchase has been described, and was made in 1641. The second purchase was by the Indians called Wannamoiset, and now constitutes parts of the towns of Swansea, Mass., and Cumberland, R. I. The third purchase acquired the name of the "North Purchase," and was made April 8, 1661. This subsequently came to constitute the towns of Attleborough, Mass., and Cumberland; R. I.

Rehoboth was incorporated as a town June 4, 1645. Attleborough was set off from Rehoboth and incorporated as a town Oct. 19, 1694. Seekonk set off from Rehoboth and incorporated as a town Feb. 26, 1812. Attleborough divided and part set off and incorporated as a new and distinct town called Cumberland, in 1746. Seekonk was divided and part set off as a new town and

called Pawtucket, March 1, 1828. Part of Seekonk annexed to Rhode Island in 1861, at which time, by the change in the state line, nearly all Pawtucket went into Rhode Island. What did not fall within the limits of Rhode Island was the same year annexed to Seekonk, Mass.

The first or earliest European settler at Rehoboth was Rev. William Blackstone, a non-conformist minister of the Episcopal Church, who had left England to escape the tyranny of the "Lords Bishops," and sought an asylum in the wilds of America, purchasing in 1634 and occupying the peninsula of Shawmut, now Boston, which he the next year or soon after left to rid himself from the tyranny of the "Lords Brethren." He next removed to what subsequently became Rehoboth, where he located near the banks of the river that still perpetuates his name. His cottage he named "Study Hall." It was built near a knoll he called "Study Hill," about three miles from Pawtucket and a mile and a half above Valley Falls. That spot of ground is within the limits of what is now the township of Cumberland, R. I. There he planted an orchard, the first planted within the limits of what is now the state of Rhode Island. He died May 26, 1675, and was buried May 28, 1675. Two rude rough stones, devoid of inscription, still mark his grave.*

Next after Rev. William Blackstone, came the celebrated Rev. Roger Williams and pitched his tent for awhile on ground that afterwards became Rehoboth. This was in 1636. He located in that part of the town which in 1812 became Seekonk. It was a short distance from the central bridge, on the east side of the cove, and on what is called Manton's Neck. He left this place and settled in what is now the city of Providence, about the middle of June, 1636.

* The Boston Records state that Mr. William Blackstone was married to Sarah Stevenson, widow, July 4, 1656. She died about the middle of June, 1673. Their only son occupied the paternal estate until 1692, when he sold it and removed to Providence, where he resided until 1713, when he removed to Attleborough, and, subsequently, to or near New Haven, Conn. A grandson of Rev. Wm. Blackstone, in the capacity of a lieutenant, went to Cape Breton, and lost his life at the taking of Louisburg.

Rev. Samuel Newman was the first minister settled at Rehoboth. He was born at Banbury, England, in 1600, and educated at the University of Oxford. He gave to the town its name of Rehoboth. He wrote a concordance of the bible that far surpassed anything of the kind before written. He died July 5, 1663.

The celebrated rock called "Annawon's Rock" is in the easterly part of Rehoboth, near the line that divides that town from Dighton. The rock extends north-east and south-west about 75 feet, and is some 25 feet high. It is near the northern border of a swamp containing about three thousand acres, called Squannakonk Swamp. This rock was rendered memorable by the capture of the Indian chieftain Annawon, one of Massasoit's leaders upon the war path for many years, and who, after the death of the latter, probably continued to render like services to Wamsutta till his death, and then for King Philip till he was slain in battle, when Annawon became the last principal or head chief of his tribe.

Early commissioned officers in the local militia of Rehoboth:

Captains.—Peter Hunt, commissioned July 7, 1682; Moses Read, from date unknown.

Lieutenants.—Peter Hunt, from Aug. 1, 1654, to July 7, 1682; Nicholas Peck, commissioned July 7, 1682; Moses Read, from date unknown.

Ensigns.—John Brown, Jr., commissioned Aug. 1, 1654; Henry Smith, commissioned June 8, 1664; Nicholas Peck, from June 5, 1678, to July 7, 1682; Thomas Wilmarth, from July, 1683; Thomas Read; Moses Read and Timothy Ide from dates to me unknown.

No. 8.


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DEED OF ANCIENT AND ORIGINAL BRIDGEWATER.

Witness these presents that I Ousamequin Sachem of the country of Poconocket have given, granted, enfeofed, and sold unto Miles Standish, of Duxbury, Samuel Nash and Constant Southworth, of Duxbury, aforesaid, in behalf of all the townsmen of Duxbury, aforesaid, a tract of land usually called Satucket, extending in the length and breadth thereof as followeth, that

is to say from the wear at Satucket, seven miles due east, and from the said wear, seven miles due west, and from the said wear, seven miles due north, and from the said wear, seven miles due south; the which tract the said Ousamequin hath given, granted, enfeofed, and sold unto the said Miles Standish, Samuel Nash and Constant Southworth, in the behalf of all the townsmen of Duxbury, as aforesaid, with all the immunities, privileges and profits, whatsoever belonging to the said tract of land with all and singular, all woods, underwoods, lands, meadows, rivers, brooks, rivulets, &c., to have and to hold to the said Miles Standish, Samuel Nash and Constant Southworth, in behalf of all the townsmen of the town of Duxbury, to them and their heirs forever.

In witness whereof I, the said Ousamequin, have hereunto set my hand the 23d of March, 1649.

John Bradford	} Witness the	 OUSAMEQUIN.
Wm. Otway (alias) Parker		

In consideration of the aforesaid bargain and sale, we the said Miles Standish, Samuel Nash and Constant Southworth do bind ourselves to pay unto the said Ousamequin for and in consideration of the said tract of land as followeth:

7 Coats, a yard and a half	}	MILES STANDISH, SAMUEL NASH, CONSTANT SOUTHWORTH.
in a coat		
9 Hatchets		
8 Hoes		
29 Knives		
4 Moose Skins		
10 Yards and a half of		
Cotton		

In affixing his mark to this deed the sachem endeavored to draw the figure of his hand.

Tradition informs us that this purchase was made and probably the contract signed on a small rocky eminence that thereby acquired the name of "Sachem's Rock." It was in what came to be East Bridgewater, and is not far from the house where Seth Latham once lived, and afterward owned and occupied by David Kingman. March 2, 1640, a part of the township of Duxbury was detached, set off, and incorporated as a new and distinct town and called "Marshfield," whereupon the people of Duxbury petitioned the colonial court for "an extension to the westward," as a compensation for the loss

of territory that they had sustained by the setting off of Marshfield, and their petition was complied with as follows:

“August, 1644. Upon the petition of Duxbury men, it is thought good by the court, that there be a view taken of the lands described by them, namely, twelve miles up into the woods from Plymouth bounds at Jones’ River; and if it prove not prejudicial to the plantation to be erected at Teightaquid [Titicut], nor to the meadows of Plymouth at Winnytuckquett [Winnetuxet], it may be confirmed unto them; provided also the herring or alewife river at Namassachusetts shall be equally between the two towns of Duxbury and Marshfield.”

1645. The inhabitants of the town of Duxbury are granted a competent proportion of lands about Saughtuchquett (Satucket), towards the west for a plantation for them and to have it four miles every way from the place where they shall set up their centre; provided it intrench not upon Winnytuckquett, formerly granted to Plymouth. “And we have nominated Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. John Alden, George Soule, Constant Southworth, John Rogers and William Brett, to be feofees, in trust for the equal dividing and laying forth the said lands to the inhabitants” These inhabitants, the original share holders of ancient Bridgewater, were 54 in number. Bridgewater was incorporated as a township, June 3, 1656. Officers commissioned to command the militia: Captain Thomas Hayward, Jr., commissioned Oct. 2, 1689; Lieutenants Josiah Standish, June 6, 1660; and Thomas Hayward, Jr., Sept. 27, 1664.

Abington was set off from Bridgewater and incorporated as a town, June 10, 1712. The Indian name of what became Abington was Maramooskeagin.

North Bridgewater, set off from Bridgewater, and incorporated as a new and distinct town, June 15, 1821. Name changed to Brockton, March 28, 1874.

West Bridgewater, set off from Bridgewater, and incorporated as a new and distinct town, Feb. 16, 1822.

East Bridgewater, set off from Bridgewater, and made a distinct town, June 14, 1823. Part of Halifax annexed to East Bridgewater, April 11, 1857. Part of East Bridgewater annexed to Brockton, April 24, 1875.

Rockland, set off from Abington, March 9, 1874.

South Abington, set off from Abington and East Bridgewater, March 4, 1875.

Part of South Abington was annexed to Brockton, April 24, 1875.

No. 9.

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DEED OF OLD DARTMOUTH.

New Plymouth, November the 29th, 1652.

Know all men by these Presents that I Wesamequin, and Wamsutta my son, have sold unto Mr. William Bradford, Captain Standish, Thomas Southworth, John Winslow, John Cooke, and their associates, the purchasers or old comers, all the tract, or tracts of land lying three miles eastward from a river called Cushenagg to a certain harbour called Acoaksett, to a flat rock on the westward side of the said harbour. And whereas the said harbour divideth itself into several branches, the westernmost arme to be the bound, and all the tract, or tracts of land from the said westernmost arme to the said river of Cushenagg, three miles eastward of the same, with all the profits and benefits within the said tract, with all the rivers, creeks, meadows, necks and islands that lye in or before the same, and from the sea upward to go so high that the English may not be annoyed by the hunting of the Indians in any sort of their cattle.

And I Wesamequin and Wamsutta, do promise to remove all the Indians within a year from the date hereof, that do live in the said tract. And we the said Wasamequin and Wamsutta have fully bargained and sold unto the aforesaid Mr. William Bradford, Captain Standish, Thomas Southworth, John Winslow, John Cooke, and the rest of their associates, the purchasers or old comers, to have and to hold for them and their heirs and assigns forever. And in consideration hereof, we the above mentioned are to pay to said Wesamequin and Wamsutta, as followeth: Thirty yards of cloth, eight moose skins, fifteen axes, fifteen hoes, fifteen pair of breeches, eight blankets, two kettles, one cloak, £2 in wampum, eight pair stockings, eight pair of shoes, one iron pot, and ten shillings in another comoditie. And in witness hereof we have inter-changably set our hands the day and year above written.

In presence of
Jonathan Shaw
Samuel Eddy

}
}
}

JOHN WINSLOW
JOHN COOKE
WAMSUTTA His mark

The tract of country conveyed by this deed embraced not only what is now Dartmouth, but New Bedford, Fairhaven, Westport, and nearly all of Acushnet.*

That part of ancient Dartmouth, now New Bedford, was by the Indians called Accoosnet; and that part now Dartmouth, Apponegansett; that now Fairhaven, Sconcticut; and Westport, Acoaxet.

New Bedford was set off from Dartmouth, Feb. 23, 1787.

Westport was set off from Dartmouth, July 2, 1787.

Fairhaven, set off from New Bedford, Feb. 22, 1812.

Acushnet, set off from Fairhaven, Feb. 13, 1860.

The John Cooke mentioned in this deed is said to have been one of the earliest gospel ministers settled in Dartmouth, and Backus, in his excellent history of the Baptist denomination, page 135, said, "John Cooke was a Baptist minister in Dartmouth for many years, from whence springs the Baptist church in the borders of Tiverton." John Cooke died Nov. 23, 1695 (Dartmouth Town Records). John Cooke's name appears among those who took the oath of fidelity in 1684. He was representative to the colonial court in 1666, 1673 and 1686. Concerning him, the records of Plymouth Colony, book 4, page 163, give the following:

"1667, July, John Cooke, of Dartmouth, is authorized by court to make contracts of marriage in the town of Dartmouth, and likewise to administer an oath to give evidence to the Grand Inquest, and likewise to administer an oath to any witness for the trial of a case as occasion may require; and in case any person or persons residing in this jurisdiction shall have occasion to commence a suit against a stranger or foreigner, it shall be lawful for the said John Cooke to issue out warrants in His Majesties name to bind over any person or persons to answer the said suit at His Majesties Court to be holden at Plymouth at any time by attachment or summons as occasion may require, and that he shall give forth subpoenies to warn witnesses."

* A small part of Freetown was annexed to Fairhaven, June 15, 1815; a small part of Rochester was added to Fairhaven, April 9, 1836; and a small part of Portsmouth, R. I., was annexed to the town of Westport in 1861. None of these additions were included in that Indian deed.

Sarah Cooke (who, there is little if indeed any doubt, was a daughter of John Cooke) and Arthur* Hathaway were united in marriage in 1652, and they had a son John Hathaway, born in 1653, from whom are descended the most of the numerous family of Hathaway, inhabiting what was ancient Dartmouth, but now Dartmouth, New Bedford, Westport, Fairhaven and Acushnet. There were thirty-six English proprietors or original purchasers of ancient Dartmouth. Among these purchasers was Captain Miles Standish, of Duxbury, whose share was conveyed to John Russell per deed of March 9, 1664. That John Russell is thought to have been a son of Ralph Russell, from Pontipool, Monmouthshire, Eng., who, in 1652, went to what was then Taunton, but now Raynham, to establish iron works upon "two mile river." Ralph Russell soon after came to Dartmouth and set up iron works upon the west bank of Pascamanset river, at a place that still retains the name of "Russell's Mills." That John Russell was Dartmouth's first or earliest representative to the colonial court, then holden at Plymouth, and was elected to that trust in 1665. John Russell died Feb. 13, 1695, and Dorothy, his wife, died Dec. 18, 1687. (See Dartmouth Records.)

John Russell and wife Dorothy had a son, Joseph Russell, born May 6, 1650, and died December 11, 1739. Elizabeth, the wife of Joseph Russell, was born March 6, 1657, and died Sept. 25, 1737. (See Ricketson's History of New Bedford, page 154.) This Joseph Russell and wife Elizabeth had twin sons named Joseph and John Russell, born Nov. 22, 1679. Joseph Russell, Jr., and wife Mary had a son born Oct. 8, 1719, whom they christened Joseph, and to that son Joseph the world at large have accorded the honor of being the "founder of New Bedford." This Joseph Russell (the

* "1667, June, Sergeant James Shaw and Arthur Hatherway are appointed by the Court to exercise the men in armes in the town of Dartmouth." See *Plymouth Colony Records*, Book 4, page 104.

"1671, July, Arthur Hatheway, of Dartmouth, is appointed by Court to administer an oath to any witness to give evidence to the Grand Inquest in that town as occasion may require." See *Plymouth Colony Records*, Book 5, page 48.

founder of New Bedford) died Oct. 16, 1804. He was the pioneer of the whale fishery at that place, in which he was engaged as early as 1755. He and his sons were the principal owners of the ship "Rebecca," the first American whaler that doubled Cape Horn and obtained a cargo of oil in the Pacific Ocean. The ship Rebecca was launched in March, 1785,* Col. George Claghorn being the builder, who was also the naval constructor of the United States frigate "Constitution."

The name Bedford originated in this way. It was first given to a village in old Dartmouth, and at the suggestion of Joseph Rotch, in honor of Joseph Russell, founder of the enterprise that had called the village into existence. Russell was the family name of the Duke of Bedford.

It was subsequently ascertained that the same name had been previously given (viz., Sept. 23, 1729) to a township in Middlesex county, Mass., and hence this then village, in old Dartmouth, came to be called New Bedford, a name applied to that part of ancient original Dartmouth set off and incorporated as a new and distinct town, Feb. 23, 1787. This also continued as the name when the village, that had become a town in 1787, was incorporated as a city, March 9, 1847.

The act of incorporating ancient and original Dartmouth as a township appears in the 4th Book of Ply-

* "Navy Yard, Boston. The Constructor has the honor to inform his Fellow Citizens that the Frigate Constitution is to be launched into her destined Element on Wednesday the 20th inst at 11 o'clock."

"GEORGE CLAGHORN."
(*Russell's Commercial Gazette*, Boston, Sept. 11, 1797.)

But they did not succeed in getting the "Old Iron Sides" into her destined element on Wednesday the 20th of September, nor was she completely launched and afloat until Saturday, Oct. 23, 1797.

Col. George Claghorn had been a captain in the patriot service in war of American Revolution, viz., in 1778, 1780 and 1781; promoted to major, July 1, 1781; raised to colonel, July 10, 1788. Honorably discharged in 1798. While he was colonel the field and staff officers of his regiment were as follows: *Field Officers*: George Claghorn, of New Bedford, colonel; Benjamin Weaver, of Freetown, lieutenant colonel; Robert Earl, of Westport, major. *Staff Officers*: Samuel Willis, of New Bedford, adjutant; William Almey, of Westport, quarter master. Lieutenant Colonel Weaver resigned in 1793, and was succeeded by Robert Earl, and Earl was succeeded by Sylvester Brownell.

mouth Colony Records, page 72, and in words following: "1664, June 8. At this Court all that tract of land commonly called and known by the name Acushena, Ponagansett and Coaksett, is allowed by the Court to be a township, and the inhabitants thereof have liberty to make such orders as may conduce to their common good in town concernments, and that the said town be henceforth called and known by the name of Dartmouth."

The selectmen of the town of Dartmouth, in 1667, were John Russell, Samuel Hickes, and Arthur Hathaway. (See Plymouth Colony Records, vol. 4, page 150.)

The earliest Justice of the Peace appointed in Dartmouth was Seth Pope, who was commissioned May 27, 1692. The earliest officers commissioned to command the local militia of the ancient and original town of Dartmouth, were as follows: *Captain*, Thomas Taber, commissioned May 20, 1689. *Lieutenants*, John Smith, commissioned March 4, 1674; Seth Pope, June 4, 1686;* Jonathan Delano, May 20, 1689. *Ensigns*, Jacob Mitchell, commissioned March 4, 1674, slain by the Indians; James Tripp, commissioned May 20, 1689.

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No. 10. Chessewaunke, alias Hog Island, is situated between the points of Mount Hope and Popasquash Neck, in Bristol harbor. A controversy concerning the jurisdiction of this island arose between the colonies of Plymouth and Rhode Island as early as 1658, or about one year subsequent to the ratifying of a title by Massasoit alias Osamequin, and five years after the bargain made by Wamsutta. That controversy was kept up and continued between Plymouth and Rhode Island colonies some 30 years or more.

At the court of Plymouth in 1684, Richard Smith, of Narraganset, complained against John Burden, of Portsmouth, R. I., for unjustly detaining the island from the complainant, and the jury found a verdict in favor of Smith.

Thomas Hinkley, governor of Plymouth Colony, in a

* Seth Pope died March 17, 1727, in his 79th year. Deborah, his wife, died Feb. 10, 1711, aged 56 years.

letter dated at Barnstable, Nov. 18, 1682, said, concerning Hog Island, "of late Mr. Richard Smith, of Narraganset, petitioned our court for their assistance of him to his just rights by ejection of some Rhode Islanders by due course of law that have trespassed him by taking possession of and making waste upon his island or little islet lying near Mount Hope Harbor, now called New Bristol, and helps to make that harbor. Upon which petition we thought best (for the preservation of peace between the two colonies) to have first a treaty between us and them about it to see if that matter might be peaceably issued between us, seeing they laid claim to said island to be within their colony and we to be within ours; our court having given liberty to said Mr. Smith many years since to purchase said island, who did purchase it of the Sachem of Mount Hope and Pockonockett country, and was affirmed by the old Indians always to belong to Mount Hope and to the sachems thereof, and had his said purchase of the island acknowledged by said sachem and recorded in our court records many years ago."

Under date of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, June 24, 1684, John Sanford, recorder of said colony, wrote to the governor and council of Plymouth Colony, as follows:

HONORED GENTLEMEN.—We are sorry that so good a correspondence which hath formerly been kept and maintained betwixt this his majesty colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations and your government by a temporary settlement of his majestys most honorable commissioners in the year 1664, March the 7th and 11th hath been now twice violated by yourselves notwithstanding our patent right by giving interruption to our government here. In the first place by a warrant granted forth by Mr. James Brown, which occasioned the imprisonment of Morris Freelove,* whereunto you gave approbation by bring-

* He was called Morris Freelove, of Newport, R. I. The suit against him was in July, 1682. Morris Freelove and Eliza Wilbur were married Feb. 9, 1681. They went to reside in Freetown, Mass. A piece of land that they had of John Wilbur, deceased, they sold Aug. 29, 1737, to Samuel Forman. Morris Freelove made a will June 10, 1740. It named children Samuel, Rebecca, Abigail, Hannah and Mary.

ing him to a trial at your court concerning the lands of Hog Island, situate and being in our jurisdiction by virtue of his majestys gracious letters patent, &c., as also some of yours have endeavored since in an unlawful manner to possess themselves of said lands as we are informed. We also have had information that one Nathaniel Byfield, in an unmanlike and deceitful manner invited John Borden over to Bristol pretending to requite him for former kindnesses received ; and immediately caused the constable to arrest him to your court to the intent that he might answer, by virtue of a warrant granted by Mr. Daniel Smith, of Rehoboth, for detaining of lands at Chassawunk alias Hog Island which he presumes to assert is in your Colony ; as by the warrant a copy whereof we have seen is more largely demonstrated.

PAGE 38.

No. 11. Official records duly attested furnish the following concerning the purchase of ancient Freetown :

December 24th, 1657.

Whereas Capt. James Cudworth, Mr. Josiah Winslow, senior, Constant Southworth and John Barnes, have been with me Wamsutta to buy a parcel of land, which they say is granted by the court of Plymouth unto themselves with some others, and I Wamsutta am not willing at present to sell all they doe desire.

Yet at present I Wamsutta doe tender and proffer unto Capt. James Cudworth, Josiah Winslow, John Barnes and Constant Southworth [then follows a description of the tract of land], they yielding and paying unto me the said Wamsutta twenty coates, two ruggs, two iron pots, two kettles and one little kettle, eight paire of shoes, six paire of stockings, one dozen of hoes, one dozen of hatchets, two yards of broad cloth, and to satisfy unto John Barnes for those things I said Wamsutta took up of him.

Liberty to purchase had been granted by the colonial court in session at Plymouth, July 3, 1656, or nearly a year and a half before Wamsutta was prevailed on to execute the foregoing bond for a deed (for the document also contained the conditions of a bond) in a part we omitted to copy, and fifteen months expired after the date of the bond before the execution of the deed that found a place in the public records in the words following :

Know all men by these presents that we Ossamequin, Wamsutta, Tatapanum, natives inhabiting and living within the gov-

ernment of New Plymouth in New England in America haue bargained and sold enfeofed and confirmed unto Capt. James Cudworth, Josiah Winslow, senior, Constant Southworth, John Barns, John Tisdall, Humphrey Turner, Walter Hatch, Samuel House, Samuel Jackson, John Daman, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Timothy Foster, Thomas Southworth, George Watson, Nathaniel Morton, Richard Moore, Edmund Chandler, Samuel Nash, Henry Howland, Mr. Ralph Partridge, Love Brewster, William Paybody, Christopher Wadsworth, Kenelm Winslow, Thomas Bourne, John Waterman the son of Robert Waterman, and do by these presents bargain sell enfeof and confirm from us and our heirs unto James Cudworth, Josiah Winslow, senior, Constant Southworth, John Tisdale, &c., and they and their heirs, all the tract of upland and meadow lying on the easterly side of Taunton river, beginning or bounded toward the south with the river called the Falls or Quequechand, and so extending itself northerly until it comes to a little brook called by the English by the name of Stacey's Creek which brook issues out of the woods into marshes and bay of Assonet close by the narrowing of Assonet Neck, and from the marked tree near said brook at the head of the marsh to extend itself into the woods on a north easterly point four miles and from the head of said four miles on a straight line southerly until it meet with the head of four mile line at Quequechand or the Falls aforesaid including all marshes, necks or islands lying and being between Assonet Neck and the Falls aforesaid except the land that Tabadacason hath in present use and all the meadow upon Assonet Neck on the south side of said neck.

And all the meadow on the westerly side of Taunton river from Taunton upland bounds round until it come to the head of Weypoiset river in all creeks, coves and rivers with inland meadow not lying above four miles from the flowing of the tide in and for the consideration of 20 coats, 2 ruggs, 2 iron pots, 2 kettles and 1 little kettle, 8 pair of shoes, 6 pair of stockings, one dozen of hoes, one dozen of hatchets, 2 yards of broadcloth and a debt to be satisfied to John Barns which was due from Wamsutta unto John Barns before the 24th of December, 1657, all being unto us in hand paid Ossamequin, Wamsutta, Tattapanum are fully satisfied, contented and paid, and do by these presents exonerate, acquit and discharge [then followed the names of the 26 purchasers before enumerated] they and euery of them and euery of their heirs forever warranting the sale hereof from all persons from, by or under us as laying any claim unto the premises from, by or under us claiming any right and title thereunto or unto any part or parcel thereof.

To have and to hold to them and to their heirs forever all the

above said upland and meadow as is before expressed with all the appurtenances thereunto belonging from Ossamequin, Wamsutta, Tattapanum and every of us our heirs any every of them according to the tenure of East Greenwich in free soccage and not in Capite nor by nights service.

Also the said Ossamequin, Wamsutta and Tattapanum do covenant and grant that it may be lawful for the said James Cudworth, &c., to enter this said deed in the Court of Plymouth or in any other court of Record provided for in such cases in and for the performance whereof Wee Ossamequin, Wamsutta and Tattapanum have hereunto set our hands and seals this second day of April, 1659.

Signed sealed and delivered		his	(seal)
in the presence of us	Wamsutta	M	(seal)
Thomas Cook		mark	
Jonathan Briggs		her	
John Sasamon	Tattapanum	X	(seal)
		mark	

June 9, 1659, Wamsutta did acknowledge this to be his free act and deed, and did make full resignation to the parties above said of all and singular the tracts of land above mentioned before us.

JOSIAS WINSLOW,	}	Assistants.
WILLIAM BRADFORD,		

At the same time and place Tattapanum also appeared and acknowledged the deed to have been her free act, before Winslow and Bradford, but no record is to be found that Ossamequin ever so acknowledged, nor did he so much as sign the deed.

Early the next year the twenty-six purchasers entered into the following written agreement:

Whereas the court have granted unto several of the ancient freemen whose names are hereunder written certain tracts of lands as appears by the records whereof one is bounded from Assonet neck upon Cohanett river to a place called and known by the name of Queqethan and by the English called falls extending into the woods four miles which said lands the said Freeman have purchased of the Indians as appears by a Deed under their hands and seals and whereof Capt. James Cudworth, Constant Southworth, Josias Winslow, senior, and John Tisdall being part of said companie were appointed and made choice of by the rest of said companie to view the land and to divide it

into twenty and six parts according to the number expressed in the said deed according to their judgement quantitie and qualitie and according to their notice given the companie were to be called together by the said James Constant and Josias and the land so divided to be disposed of to each by lot respectively.

Now see it is that the said James Cudworth, Constant Southworth and Josias Winslow have been upon the land and taken view of it as their time would permit and have according to our best Judgments divided into twenty six parts setting a range betwixt every part by the path side being all numbered upon the ranges according to the number of each lot beginning the first lot at the falls and so following in number successively until it ends at Taunton bounds, and inasmuch as it may fall out that some lots may prove better than others therefore wee do all and every one of us agree and determine and doe by these presents firmly bind ourselves each to the other our heirs executors administrators and assigns to rest contented with what providence the lord shall dispose by lott to each of us not troubling or molesting each other and to this mutually agree before the lots be drawn.

It is further agreed that if any meadow fall within the range of any mans upland if it exceed not his due proportion he shall have it for his share or toward his share if it be less than his share but if there be more meadow within a mans range of upland than his share it is to be abated and divided to make up other mens.

It is further agreed that whereas Wamsutta hath reserved the land Tabadascon had in present use att the banished Indians for the Indians that keep the Ferry that in whose lot or lots it shall fall to be in, the owners of the lots shall allow it untill he or they shall make a further agreement with the Indians.

Further whereas an Indian called Pianto hath made request to have three or four acres on some place on the plaine to plant on during his life which we agree to and therefore he in whose lot it shall fall shall allow him peaceably to enjoy it during his life the propriety being the owner of the lott and to him to return to make improvement when Pianto deceaseth.

It is further agreed that each mans lott shall extend into the woods east south east to the head of the grant and west North-west unto the utmost extent of our grant by the water side cutting across all necks or Islands and who has parts of his lott within any neck being shut out from coming to it but by passing over some other Lotts; the party owning any such parts shall have free passage from his lot to his parts as may be most convenient for him and least prejudicial to the neighbour or neighbors.

It is further agreed that if the twentieth lot has 90 pole in breadth, then it is to stand, or if it be above 90 pole to stand,

but if it be short of 90 pole then to be made the 90 pole out of the one and twentyeth.

That what is above written is by the minds and consents of the Partners unto which we ingage ourselves our heirs Executors and Administrators is witnessed by setting to our hands this fourth of January, 1660.

James Cudworth
Josias Winslow
Constant Southworth

^{his}
John I B barnes

^{mark}
Humphrey Turner

Walter Hatch

Samuel House

^{his}
William Z Randall

^{mark}
in behalf of Samuel

Jackson

John Daman

James Cudworth in
the behalf of Mr. Hatherly

Constant Southworth for

Thomas Southworth

Georg Watson

Nathaniel Morton

Edmund Chandler

^{his}
John I. B. barnes
^{mark}

for Richard Moore

Samuel Nash

Henry Howland

William Paybody

Christopher Wadsworth

Kanelm Winslow

Josias Winslow senior in

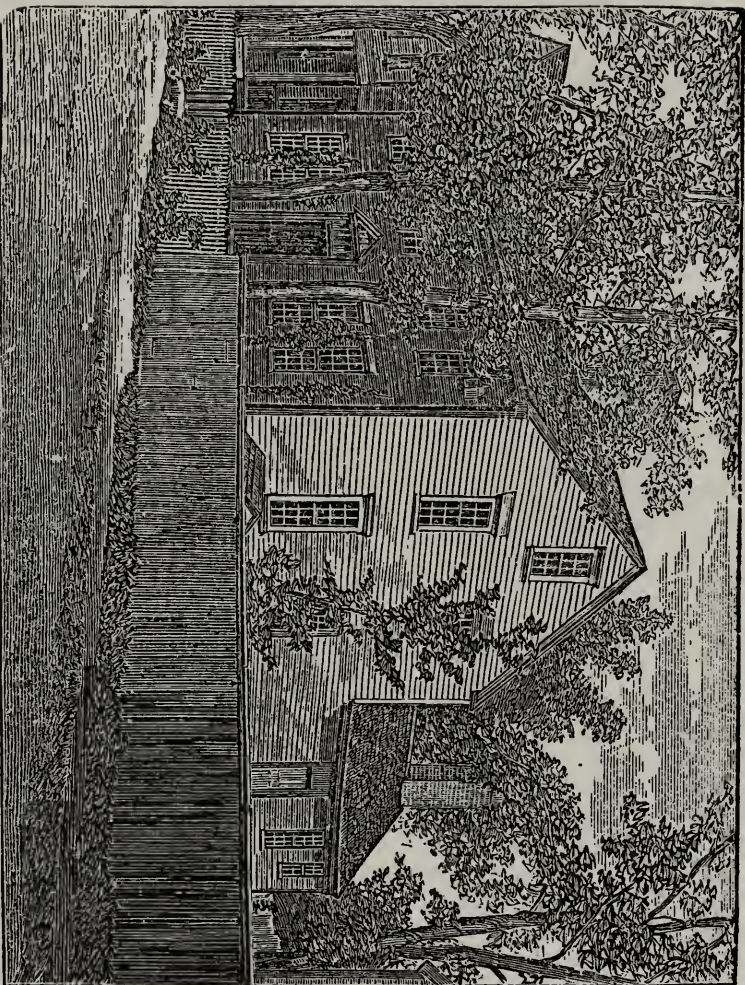
the behalf of Thomas

Bourne

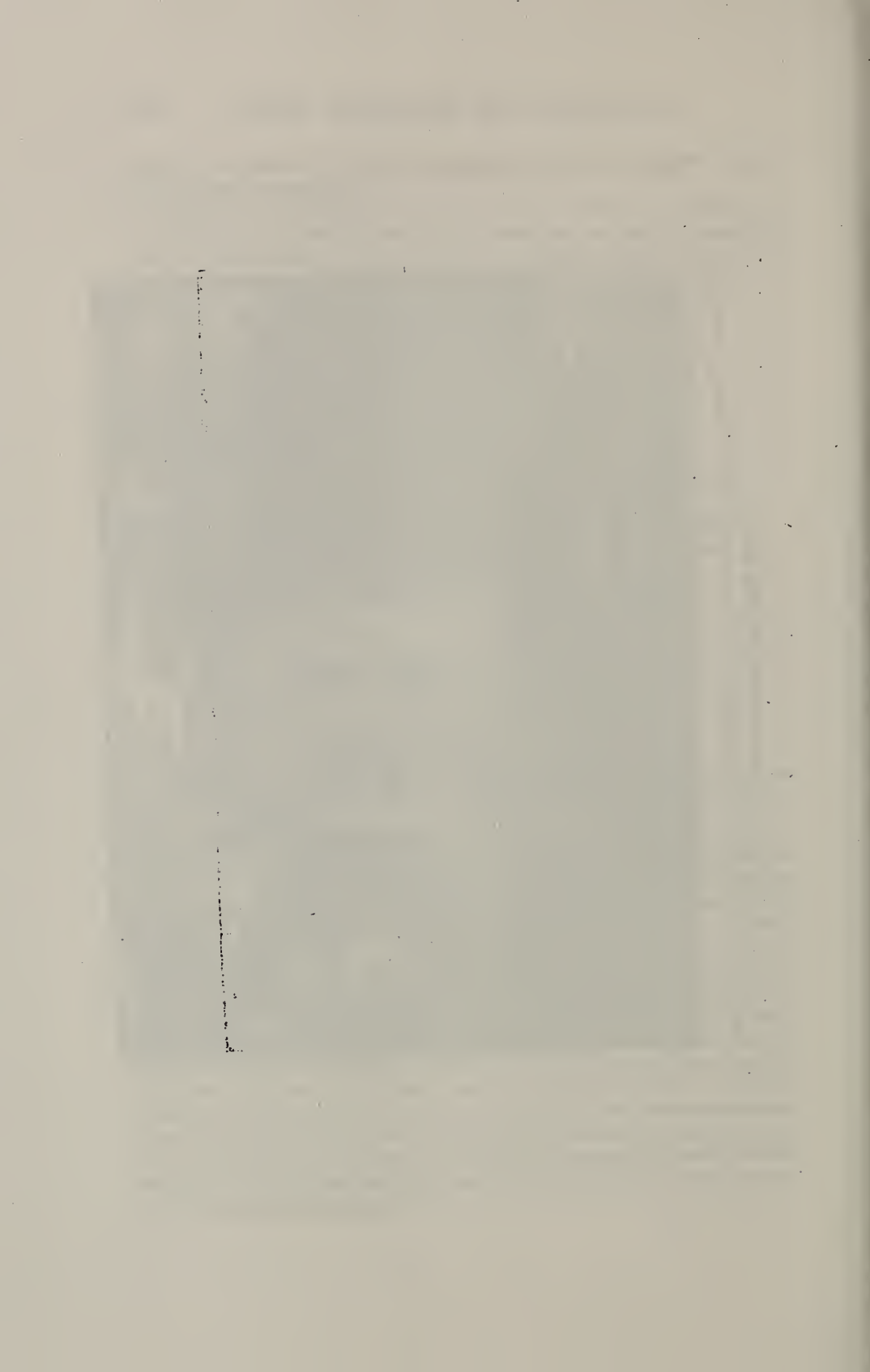
John Waterman

Volume 6, folio 44, of the Old Colony Records contains the following :

At the Court held at Plymouth the first Tuesday in March 1680-81 upon the petition of Mr. Nathaniel Thomas, Capt. Benjamin Church and Edward Gray in the behalf of themselves and partners purchasers of the lands att Pocasset and parts adjacent, this Court have ordered William Paybody to run the line of the Freeman's land upon which the said purchasers land aforesaid is bounded beginning att the great cleft Rock on the north side of the River called the fall River ; or Queyuchan, which Rock is above the path ; and neare the path and the said River ; and from the said River where the path goeth over the said River and from the said Rock to run west north west untill it meets with the fall River ; and soe by the fall River untill it comes to Taunton River ; and from the said Rock east south east into the woods to the extent of the grant of court formerly made to the Freeman, and that the said Petitioners give notice to the owners of the Freemens land next the fall River, to be present at the running of the said line.



ANCIENT HOUSE IN ASSONET VILLAGE, FREETOWN, ERRECTED ABOUT 1745.
(Still standing on Elm Street.)



Some question having arisen concerning the northerly line of what is now Freetown, the colonial court decided as follows :

June, 1681. In reference to the difference about the Freemen's land lying on the easterly side of Taunton River and concerning their northerly bounds ; the Court have ordered that it is bounded from Stacey's Creek by Taunton bounds Easterly to the woods four miles from Stacey's Creek.

The act of incorporation was in words following :

July, 1683. This Court orders that the Inhabitants of the Freemen's land att the Fall River shal be a Township and have a Constable and Grand Jury men and hence forth be called by the name of Freetown.

Early officers commissioned to command the local militia of Freetown:—*Captain*, Josiah Winslow, commissioned Feb. 9, 1715; he probably retained that office until about 1725. *Lieutenants*, Thomas Terry, commissioned June 4, 1686; Josiah Winslow, from date unknown to February 9, 1715. *Ensigns*, Ralph Earle, till in or about 1715; Jacob Hathaway, commissioned in or about 1715.

No. 12.

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DEED OF ATTLEBOROUGH.

Know all men that I Wamsetta alias Alexander, chief Sachem of Pokanokett for divers good causes and valuable considerations me thereunto moving have bargained and sold unto Captain Thomas Willet of Wannamoisett, all those tracts of lands situated and being from the bounds of Rehoboth ranging upon Patuckett unto a place called Waweypounshag, the place where one Blackstone now sojourneth, and so ranging along to the said river unto a place called Messanegtaconeh, and from this upon a straight line crossing through the woods unto the uttermost bounds of the town of Rehoboth.

To have and to hold unto him the said Captain Willet and his associates their heirs and assigns forever ; reserving only a competent portion of land for some of the natives at Mishanegitacomet for to plant and sojourn upon as the said Wamsutta alias Alexander and the said Thomas Willett, Jointly together shall see meet ; and the rest of all the land afore mentioned, with the woods, waters, meadows, and all emoluments whatsoever to

remain unto the said Thomas Willet and his associates, their heirs and assigns forever.

Witness my hand and seal this eighth day of April in the year 1661.

Signed sealed and delivered
in presence of

John Browne Jr.

Jonathan Bosworth

John Sassaman Interpreter.

The mark of A X A
WAMSITTA alias ALEXANDER
his seal (L. S.)

No. 13.

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The commissioned officers of the local militia of Plymouth colony at that date were as follows :

JOSIAS WINSLOW, of Marshfield, *Major Commandant*, commissioned 1658.

PLYMOUTH COMPANY.—Thomas Southworth, *Captain*, commissioned 1659.

SCITUATE COMPANY.—James Cudworth, *Captain*, commissioned June 29, 1652 ; James Torrey, *Lieutenant*, and John Williams, Jr., *Ensign*, both commissioned June 8, 1655.

DUXBURY COMPANY.—Samuel Nash, *Lieutenant*, commissioned June 4, 1645 ; Jonathan Alden, *Ensign*, commissioned June 1, 1658.

TAUNTON COMPANY.—James Wyatt, *Lieutenant*, and Oliver Purchase, *Ensign*, both commissioned June 5, 1651.

YARMOUTH COMPANY.—William Hedge, *Captain*, commissioned Aug. 2, 1659.

BARNSTABLE COMPANY.—Mathew Fuller, *Lieutenant*, and Burnard Lumburt, *Ensign*, both commissioned Oct. 15, 1652.

SANDWICH COMPANY.—John Ellis, *Lieutenant*, commissioned June 9, 1653, and Thomas Dexter, Jr., *Ensign*, commissioned June 8, 1655.

MARSHFIELD COMPANY.—Josias Winslow, *Captain*, Peregrine White, *Lieutenant*, and Mark Eams, *Ensign*, all commissioned June 8, 1655.

REHOBOTH COMPANY.—Peter Hart, *Lieutenant*, commissioned Aug. 1, 1654 ; John Brown, Jr., *Ensign*, commissioned Aug. 1, 1654.

EASTHAM COMPANY.—Joseph Rogers, *Lieutenant*, commissioned June 1, 1647.

BRIDGEWATER COMPANY.—Josias Standish, *Lieutenant*, commissioned June 6, 1660.

CAVALRY COMPANY raised at large in the Colony. William Bradford, of Plymouth, *Captain* ; John Freeman, of Eastham, *Lieutenant* ; Robert Stetson, of Scituate, *Cornet*.

It will be observed that in accordance with the military rules and regulations then in force, Josias Winslow was both Major Commandant of the Regiment and Captain of the Marshfield Company, at one and the same time.

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No. 14. Concerning that Indian residence in Raynham, the Rev. Dr. Fobes wrote: "One mile and a quarter from the forge is a place called the Fowling Pond, on the northerly side of which once stood King Philip's house. It was called King Philip's hunting house, because in the season most favorable to hunting he resided there, but spent the winter chiefly at Mount Hope, probably for the benefit of fish. The place already mentioned by the name of Fowling Pond is itself a great curiosity. Before Philip's war it seems to have been a large pond nearly two miles long and three quarters of a mile wide. Since then the water is almost gone, and the large tract it once covered is grown up to a thick-set swamp of cedar and pine. That this, however, was once a large pond, haunted by fowls and supplied with fish in great plenty, is more than probable, for here is found upon dry land a large quantity of white floor sand and a great number of that kind of smooth stones which are never found except on shores or places long washed with water. There is also on the east side a bank of sand, which is called the Beaver's Dam, against which the water formerly washed up—and if so, the pond must once have been of such amplitude as before mentioned. Add to this, a large number of Indian spears, tools, pots, &c., are found near the sides of the pond. This indicates that the natives were once thickly settled here."

Concerning what occurred in that part of Taunton now called Raynham, in King Philip's war, the same writer says—"Deacon Nathaniel Williams, with some others, were at work in the field," when "one of the number discovered a motion of the bushes at a little distance; he immediately presented his gun and fired, upon which the Indians were heard to cry *Cocoosh*, and

ran off, but soon after one of the Indians was found dead near Fowling Pond. Near the great river [Taunton river] are now to be seen the graves of Henry Andros and James Phillips, who with James Bell and two sons were killed by a number of Indians who lay in ambush. This happened in the place called Squabette."

Mr. Fobes continues—"Uriah Leonard, as he was riding from Taunton to the forge in this place, was discovered and fired upon by the Indians. He instantly plucked off his hat and swung it around, which startled his horse, and in full career he reached the forge dam without a wound; but several bullets were shot through the hat he held in his hand and through the neck of the horse near the mane, from which the blood on both sides gushed and ran down on both his legs."

Two young women were slain by the Indians in King Philip's war in what is now Raynham, and Mr. Fobes says that their dead bodies were buried under the door step of the ancient Leonard house, that was built some time before that war, and wherein tradition says that the head of King Philip was for a time deposited. That house was a human habitation about one hundred and seventy years, giving shelter to six consecutive generations of men. In a letter addressed to Thomas Hinckley, governor of Plymouth Colony, under date of May 23, 1676, it was stated that "the enemy have killed four stout men at Taunton, and carried away (two) lusty youths—Mr. Henry Andrews, James Bell, Sargeant Phillips and the two youth, all at one time, being securely planting two or three miles from the town; the other one, Edward Bobit, killed at another place; the four men leaving thirty two fatherless children in a hard world."

Edward Bobit (the name now spelled Babbitt) was slain in a part of Taunton, now Berkley, and the spot of his interment is still pointed out. The tradition concerning him is that he had abandoned his home at what is called "the farms," in Berkley; and with his family and neighbors had taken refuge in the garrisoned house at or near "the green," in Taunton. After a time he ventured to visit his deserted home, and had started to return to the garrison house, when he was discovered and

pursued by an Indian, to escape whom he climbed into the branches of a tall tree, the foliage of which effectually hid him from passing view, and by this device he would probably have effected his escape but for his small dog, that persistently hung around the foot of the tree and thus betrayed his hiding place to the pursuer, who shot at and killed him. His corpse was found at the foot of the tree, and an Indian captive told the story in substance as above related. This story was communicated to the present writer by a lineal descendant of the man slain, and which descendant was born and still resides upon the farm once owned and occupied by Edward Bobit, or Babbett. The writer of this book visited the grave of Edward Babbett, June 17, 1878. It is not far from the Dighton and Berkley Bridge, and on the Berkley side of Taunton River. On his gravestone, after considerable labor in scraping off moss, I was able to decypher

BOBBET
KILLED
JUNE 1676

PAGE 41.

No. 15. A description of the locality mentioned may be found in a note at the bottom of page 199 of this book.

PAGE 45.

No. 16. Sogkonate, the domain of Awashonks, that section of country over the inhabitants of which she reigned as queen, is now chiefly included in the township of Little Compton, R. I. Awashonks was the wife of an Indian named Tolony, of whom little is now known. They had a son named Mamaneway, and probably several other children, whose names are unknown to me. Some disagreement arising between Awashonks and the Government of New Plymouth, the colonial council of war, in session July 8, 1671, enacted as follows:

It was agreed that a hundred men should be pressed out of the severall townes of this Jurisdiction in an equall proportion to be in a readiness att Plymouth on Monday the seauenth of August

next to goe forth on the said expedition vnder the comand of Major Josias Winslow as comander in cheife. It was further ordered by the councell of warr, that Leiftenant John Freeman shallbe a second to the major in the said expedition. And Mr. Constant Southworth comissary; Captaine Fuller to supply the place of a leiftenant and a sarjeant; and Mr. William Witherell and Elisha Hedge for sarjeants. It was also agreed that forty of our trustiest Indians should also be procured to be in a reddines for to goe forth to be healpfull in the said enterprise. The eight day of August next to be the time of theire setting forth; on which day the townes of Taunton, Rehoboth, Bridgewater and Swansey are to cause theire souldiers that are to be sent forth to giue meeting to the major and the rest of the company att or neare Assonett about John Tisdall's farme. It was agreed that the comaunder in cheif shall haue allowed vnto him 10 s a day. A leiftenant 06 s a day. A sarjeant 04 s a day. An ordinary souldier, horse and man 03 s a day. The Proportions of the Men pressed out of the seuerall Townes of this Jurisdiction to goe forth on the aboue mencioned Expedition

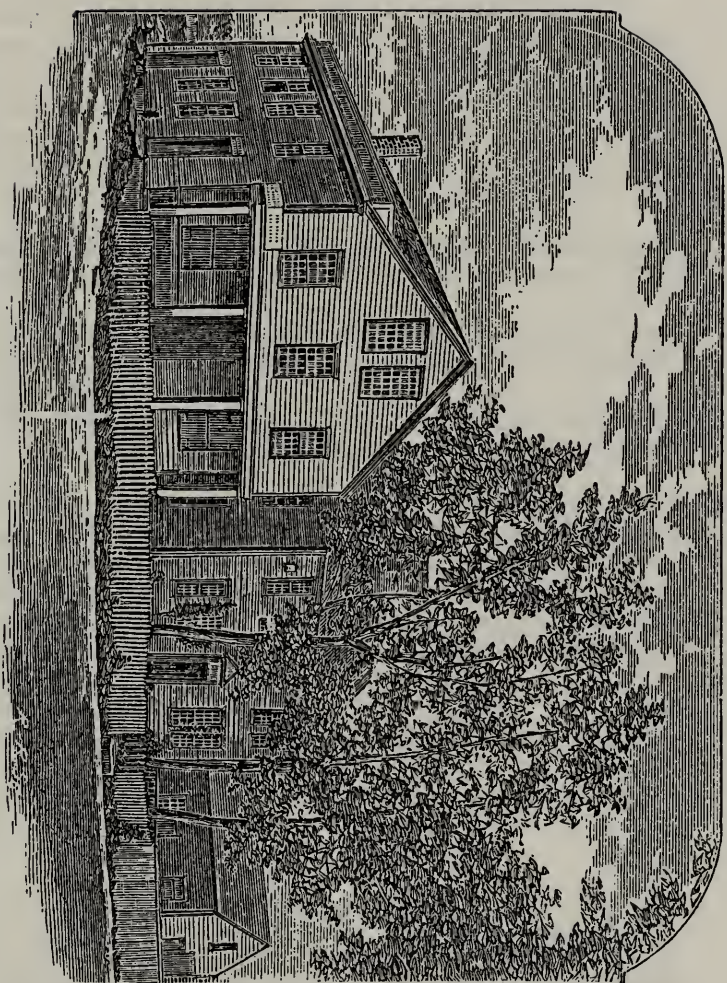
Plymouth	9	Marshfield	8
Duxburrow	5	Rehoboth	9
Scittuate	14	Eastham	5
Sandwich	10	Bridgewater	5
Taunton	12	Swansey	4
Yarmouth	9	Middleberry	2
Barnstable	10		—
	—		33
	69		

In all one hundred and two.

The place where it was proposed to assemble the colonial militia preparatory to setting out against Awashonks, the Squaw Sachem of Sogkonate, was in what is now Assonet Village, in Freetown; and what was then John Tisdale's farm, is adjacent to the Assonet Four Corners. On the 24th of July, 1671, articles of agreement were made and concluded between Awashonks and the "Court of New Plymouth," that prevented the shedding of blood, and hence the proposed expedition of Aug. 8, 1671, was abandoned. In 1671 the local militia of Plymouth Colony was officered as follows:

JOSIAS WINSLOW, of Marshfield, *Major Commandant*, commissioned in 1658.

PLYMOUTH COMPANY.—Ephraim Morton, *Lieutenant*, and Joseph Bradford, *Ensign*, both commissioned June 8, 1664.



**PRESENT APPEARANCE OF ASSONET FOUR CORNERS IN FREETOWN,
AS SEEN FROM SOUTH MAIN STREET.**

(The place appointed for assembling the militia of Plymouth Colony, preparatory to making war on Awashonks, Squaw Sachem of Sogkonate.)

SCITUATE COMPANY.—Michael Peirce, *Captain*, commissioned in 1669 ; Isaac Buck, *Lieutenant*, and John Sutton, *Ensign*, both commissioned March 1, 1670.

DUXBURY COMPANY.—Samuel Nash, *Lieutenant*, commissioned June 4, 1645 ; Jonathan Alden, *Ensign*, commissioned June 1, 1658.

TAUNTON COMPANY.—George Macy, *Lieutenant*, and Thomas Leonard, *Ensign*, both commissioned June 7, 1665.

YARMOUTH COMPANY.—William Hedge, *Captain*, commissioned Aug. 2, 1659. His name as captain of this company was given in the Roster that appears on page 64 ; but that is a mistake, as Thomas Howes was commissioned captain in 1674.

BARNSTABLE COMPANY.—Matthew Fuller, *Lieutenant*, commissioned Oct. 15, 1652 ; Burnard Lumbert, *Ensign*, Oct. 15, 1652.

SANDWICH COMPANY.—John Ellis, *Lieutenant*, commissioned June 9, 1653 ; Thomas Dexter, Jr., *Ensign*, commissioned June 8, 1655.

MARSHFIELD COMPANY.—Josias Winslow, *Captain* ; Peregrine White, *Lieutenant*, and Mark Eames, *Ensign*, all commissioned June 8, 1655.

REHOBOTH COMPANY.—Peter Hunt, *Lieutenant*, commissioned Aug. 1, 1654 ; Henry Smith, *Ensign*, commissioned June 8, 1664.

EASTHAM COMPANY.—Joseph Rogers, *Lieutenant*, commissioned June 8, 1664. He was commissioned Lieutenant June 1, 1647, and June 1, 1663, was succeeded as a Lieutenant by ——— Merrick, but re-appointed June 8, 1664.

BRIDGEWATER COMPANY.—Thomas Hayward, Jr., *Lieutenant*, and John Hayward, Sen., *Ensign*, both commissioned Sept. 27, 1664.

MIDDLEBOROUGH COMPANY.—Not yet organized.

CAVALRY COMPANY raised at large in the Colony. William Bradford, of Plymouth, *Captain* ; John Freeman, of Eastham, *Lieutenant*, and Robert Stetson, of Scituate, *Cornet*, all commissioned Oct. 2, 1659.

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No. 17. Weetamoo's dead body did not wash ashore on the Fall River side of Taunton River, but upon the Swansea side, or that from which she set out to cross the stream. Her dead body was found in what is now called "Gardiner's Neck," but was by the Indians called "Mettipoiset."

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No. 18. WRENTHAM was incorporated Oct. 15, 1673. Rev. Samuel Mann was settled here in the gospel ministry in 1692. The first English inhabitant was a man named Shears. The first of English parents born here was Mehitable Shears. In King Philip's war the town was abandoned by its English inhabitants, and all their houses save two were burned by the Indians. The following named persons engaged to return to and settle in Wrentham at the close of King Philip's war:—Ebenezer Metcalf, Robert Ware, William Mackneh, Daniel Haws, John Aldiss, Eleazer Gay, Daniel Wright, Samuel Fisher, John Payne, Benjamin Rocket, Samuel Mann, John Ware, Nathaniel Ware, Cornelius Fisher, Michael Wilson, James Mosman, Joseph Kingsbury, Samuel Shears. The Indian name of Wrentham was Wallonopaug.

Part of Wrentham was set off to Bellingham, Nov. 27, 1710, and a part set off to Franklin, March 2, 1778; also parts to Foxborough, June 10, 1778, and Feb. 7, 1831, and a part to Norfolk, Feb. 23, 1870.

In that part of ancient and original Wrentham now called Franklin, a man named Rocket, in the spring or summer of 1676, was searching for a stray horse, and at about sunset he discovered a train of forty-two Indians that he suspected were preparing to attack the English settlement at Wrentham. He therefore secretly followed them till they halted for the night, when he hastily repaired to that settlement and gave notice to the inhabitants, among whom a consultation was held and it was determined to attack the Indians early the next morning. A company of thirteen men from Wrentham and vicinity were collected, who, having secured the women and children in the garrison house, these men, under the lead of a Mr. Ware, set out for the Indian encampment that they reached just before daylight the next morning. The party were divided at a short distance from the Indian camp, with orders to reserve their fire till the Indians began to decamp. Between daylight and sunrise the Indians suddenly arose, when at a given signal a general discharge of the English musket-

ry threw them into consternation, and in attempting to escape, the Indians leaped down a rocky precipice of ten or twenty feet, but were pursued by the English, who slew some twenty of them with no loss of life on their part. The spot where the Indians that night encamped is still known as "Indian Rock."

Tradition informs us that John Woodcock, of Attleborough, then a part of Rohoboth, was one of the white men who then pursued the Indians, and that Woodcock was armed with a long-barrel musket called a *buccaneer*. This he discharged at an Indian at a distance of eighty rods, the ball striking and breaking the Indian's thigh bone and proving a mortal wound. Woodcock was a bitter and uncompromising enemy to the Indians, showing in his determined efforts to destroy them, an energy and zeal worthy of a far better cause. The Indians seem sometimes to have got a shot at him, as at his death it was reported that on his body were found the scars of seven bullet wounds. He survived the war, and lived to a very advanced age. He died Oct. 20, 1701. (See Daggett's History of Attleborough.)

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No. 19. Ancient Taunton embraced lands conveyed by the Indians to the white people at the dates here mentioned. First, the Tetiquet (or Titicut) purchase that was made in or about 1636. Second, the North purchase, made about 1667; and third, the South purchase, made in 1672. The Tetiquet purchase embraced the present territorial limits of the city of Taunton, the present town of Raynham, and a large part of the town of Berkley. The North purchase constituted the present towns of Norton, Easton and Mansfield; and the South purchase embraced what is now the town of Dighton.

Besides these three purchases, the territory of Assonet Neck, taken from the Indians as a fruit of conquest in King Philip's war, was annexed to Taunton in July, 1682. May 30, 1712, the South purchase was detached from Taunton, as was also Assonet Neck, and these were incorporated as a town under the name of Dighton.

Feb. 26, 1799, Assonet Neck was detached from Dighton and annexed to Berkley, where it still remains.

Richard Williams, who has been called the "father" or founder of Taunton, is said to have been a large landed proprietor in the South purchase, and the name Dighton was probably conferred in compliment to and respect for the numerous and eminent virtues of Richard Williams's wife, Frances Williams, whose maiden name was Dighton. She was sister to Catherine Dighton, who became the wife of governor Thomas Dudley, and mother of governor Joseph Dudley and Judge Paul Dudley.

The earliest town officers of Dighton, of which I have been able to find an official record, were: Town Clerk, Joseph Dean, who was succeeded by Capt. Jared Talbot. Joseph Atwood was elected town clerk of Dighton, March 27, 1721; Ephraim Atwood, March 8, 1724; Ezra Richmond, in 1751; Samuel Briggs, March 9, 1752, and Gershom Williams, Jr., March 19, 1753. For Selectmen, Edward Paul, Samuel Waldron and Benjamin Jones were chosen in 1714; Paul Jones and Joseph Atwood, March 28, 1715; Jones, Atwood and Ebenezer Pitts in 1716. For Assessors, Capt. Jared Talbot, Edward Shove and Edward Paul in 1720; Edward Shove, Benjamin Jones and Hezekiah Hoar in 1721. For Constables, James Tisdale in 1714; Ephraim Hathaway in 1715; John Paul in 1716 and 1717. Representatives to General Court, Ephraim Atwood in 1719; Benjamin Crane in 1721; Jared Talbot in 1722, and Edward Shove in 1723 and again in 1733.

The township of Dighton was divided June 9, 1814, a part set off and incorporated as a new town under the name of Wellington. It was re-united by joining the new town to Dighton, Feb. 22, 1826.

PAGE 53.

No. 20. Rochester was incorporated June 4, 1686. The Indian name was Scipican or Sippican. The southeasterly part of Rochester was set off and incorporated as a new and distinct town, and called MARION, May 14, 1852; and May 20, 1857, another part of Rochester was

set off and made a new town under the name of Mattapoissett, an Indian name that is said in the language of that people to signify REST. Ebenezer White, Esq., of Rochester, commanded a regiment in the patriot service on an expedition to Rhode Island in the war of the American Revolution, when a part of the hilt of his sword was shot off by the enemy in battle. He died in March, 1804, aged 80 years. The writer of this book, when passing through Rochester in 1860, visited the ancient cemetery in that part of the settlement called "Rochester town," where he found a fallen neglected stone, from which considerable scraping of moss was required to enable him to decypher the inscription that reads thus: "Memento Mori, sacred to the memory of Col. Ebenezer White, who died March, 1804, æt. 80. He was 19 times chosen to represent the town of Rochester in the General Court, in 14 of which elections he was unanimously chosen. As a tribute of respect for his faithful service the Town erected this monument to his memory."

PAGE 56.

No. 21. Macy's History of Nantucket, page 43, says: "His name was John Gibbs; his crime was the mentioning of the name of Philip's father. Rehearsing the name of the dead, if it should be that of a distinguished person, was decreed by the natives a very high crime, for which nothing but the life of the culprit could atone."

PAGE 57.

No. 22. TAUNTON. In or near the year 1637 was bought of the Indian natives a tract that the latter called "Cohanet," including parts of the present towns of Berkley, Mansfield, Norton and Raynham, and also part of the present city limits of Taunton. This was generally known as the "Tetiquet purchase," and on the 3d of Sept., 1639, this was incorporated as a town and called Taunton. To the township of Taunton was added, June 3, 1668, the "North Purchase," so called,,

or what is now Easton, a large portion of Mansfield, and a part of Norton. Taunton was further enlarged in 1672 by the addition of a "South Purchase," the bounds of which were identical with those of the present township of Dighton. "Assonet Neck," purchased by some Taunton people, Nov. 12, 1677, was also annexed to Taunton.*

Thus it is seen that the township of Taunton came to consist of three purchases made of the Indians, together with the conquered territory of Assonet Neck, wrested by the English from the aborigines in King Philip's war, and by Plymouth Colony government sold towards meeting the expenses incurred in that bloody conflict, wherein the hope of the red man perished.

Norton was set off from Taunton and incorporated as a new and distinct town, June 12, 1711.

Dighton was set off from Taunton, May 30, 1712. Raynham was also set off April 2, 1731; and Berkley, April 18, 1735.

Part of Dighton, viz., "Assonet Neck," was annexed to Berkley, Feb. 26, 1799. Part of Taunton was also annexed to Berkley, Feb. 6, 1810, and another part, March 3, 1842. Dighton was divided, and the new town thus formed called Wellington, June 8, 1814, the latter being re-united with Dighton in 1826.

Taunton was incorporated as a city, May 13, 1864. The town was represented at the colonial court in 1639 by Capt. William Poole, John Gilbert and Henry Andrews, and John Strong was constable.

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The writer of this book spent considerable time in visiting and examining that "piece of country" which Mr. Drake says "projected into Taunton River," but failed to find any piece of land there located that to

* The old Colony Records contain the following: "July, 1682, this Court orders the land called Assonet Neck, being purchased by some of Taunton, that the said tract of land shall be in the township of Taunton." The writer of this work has in his possession the deed of the sale of Assonet Neck, dated Nov. 12, 1677.

any considerable degree projects into that River. On March 5, 1878, I rode to the stone Bridge in Tiverton, where I made inquiries of the oldest inhabitants, who agree with me that the place which seems most probable to have been occupied by King Philip and his followers is the low grounds next to Taunton River, about a quarter of a mile from the present line that divides Fall River, Mass., from Tiverton, R. I., and on the Tiverton side of that line. The railroad from Fall River to Newport runs directly through the tract, as does also a turn-pike road that used to connect Fall River with the settlement at Howland's Ferry Bridge in Tiverton.

PAGE 103.

Among the Winslow Papers at Marshfield, was a letter addressed to Gen. Josias Winslow, and signed N. T., that is supposed to have been written by Capt Nathaniel Thomas, of Marshfield, in which a long and detailed account was given of this battle. The letter appears to have been written at Mount Hope, Aug. 10, 1675, and sets forth that the battle was fought on the morning of Aug. 1, 1675. Of the Indians therein engaged, the letter informs us that "they had very little powder, but shot enough it seemeth, for the first Indian that was shot down (being a stout fellow, and one of them which shot down old Tisdale at Taunton, and them with him, and had his gun), although he had his horn by his side, had no more powder than that in his gun, and Nimrod being there slain had but three or four charges of powder. The rest found slain were as badly provided. Near the issue of that engagement Mr. James Brown, Mr. Newman and others came to us with provisions."

PAGE 151.

Under date of July, 1676, Church's History describes the occurrence referred to as follows:—"Marching with what men were ready, he took with him the post that came from Bridgewater to pilot him to the place where he thought he might meet with the enemy. In the

evening they heard a smart firing at a distance from them, but it being near night and the firing of short continuance, they missed the place and went into Bridgewater town. It seems the occasion of the firing was that Philip finding that Capt. Church made that side of the country too hot for him, designed to return to the other side of the country that he came last from. And coming to Taunton river with his company, they felled a great tree across the river for a bridge, to pass over on, and just as Philip's old uncle Akkompoin and some other of his chiefs were passing over the tree, some brisk Bridgewater lads had ambushed them, fired upon them and killed the old man and several others, which put a stop to their coming over the river that night. Next morning Capt. Church moved very early with his company, which was increased by many of Bridgewater that enlisted under him for that expedition, and by their piloting soon came very still to the top of the great tree which the enemy had fallen across the river."

In a letter dated Dec. 4, 1877, from Ephraim B. Thompson, Esq., of Halifax, Mass., addressed to the writer of this book, it is stated that "the Indians used to cross Taunton River at the Junction of the Winatuxet River on a log which I am told at low water can now be seen in the bed of the river. That place of crossing is between the present towns of Bridgewater and Halifax."

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